MECHADEMIA

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8

Tezuka's Manga Life

FRENCHY LUNNING, EDITOR

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Tezuka's Manga Life

Mechademia

An Annual Forum for Anime, Manga, and Fan Arts

FRENCHY LUNNING, EDITOR

Mechademia is a series of books published by the University of Minnesota Press devoted to creative and critical work on anime, manga, and the fan arts. Linked through their specific but complex aesthetic, anime, manga, and the fan arts have influenced a wide array of contemporary and historical culture through design, art, film, and gaming. This series seeks to examine, discuss, theorize, and reveal this unique style through its historic Japanese origins and its ubiquitous global presence manifested in popular and gallery culture. Each book is organized around a particular narrative aspect of anime and manga; these themes are sufficiently provocative and broad in interpretation to allow for creative and insightful investigations of this global artistic phenomenon.

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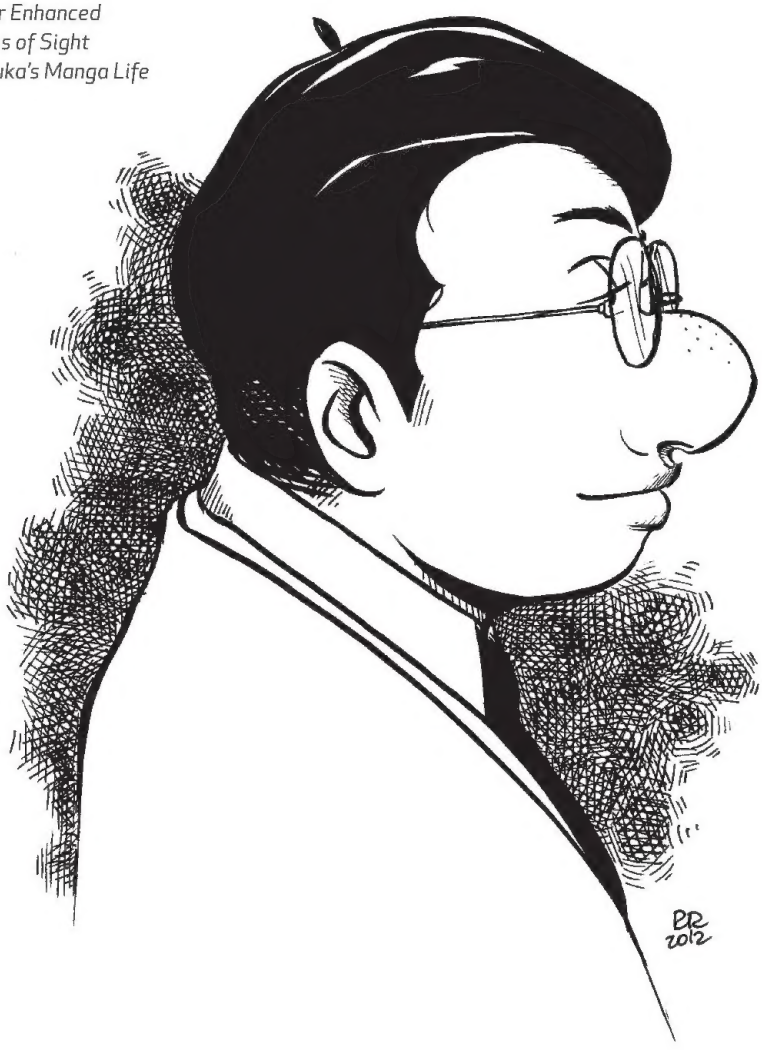

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Tezuka's Manga Life

Frenchy Lunning, Editor

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS MINNEAPOLIS • LONDON

"Designing a World" was excerpted from *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, and the Manga/Anime Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif.: Stone Bridge Press, 2007); reprinted by permission. "Konchū shōjo no hōrōki" (Diary of an Insect Shōjo's Vagabond Life) by Tezuka Osamu was first published in *Manga Tokuhon* (Showa 30) (September 5, 1955) and later reprinted in Kobayashi Junji, ed., *Tezuka Osamu no konchū hakurankai* (Tokyo: Isoppusha, 1998). "Tokiwaso monogatari" by Akatsuka Fujio was first published in *COM* (May–June 1970). "Unico" by Anno Moyoko was first published in *Comic Cue* 6 (1999) as a special issue of *Tezuka Osamu Remixes*.

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Spot illustrations by Rana Raeuchle

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Published by the University of Minnesota Press
111 Third Avenue South, Suite 290
Minneapolis, MN 55401-2520
http://www.upress.umn.edu

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper

The University of Minnesota is an equal-opportunity educator and employer.

20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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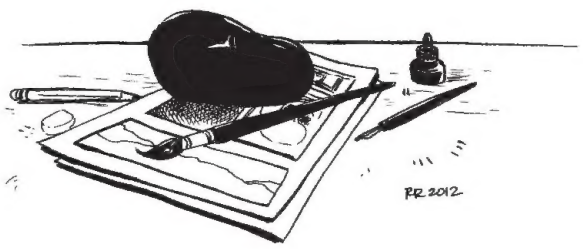

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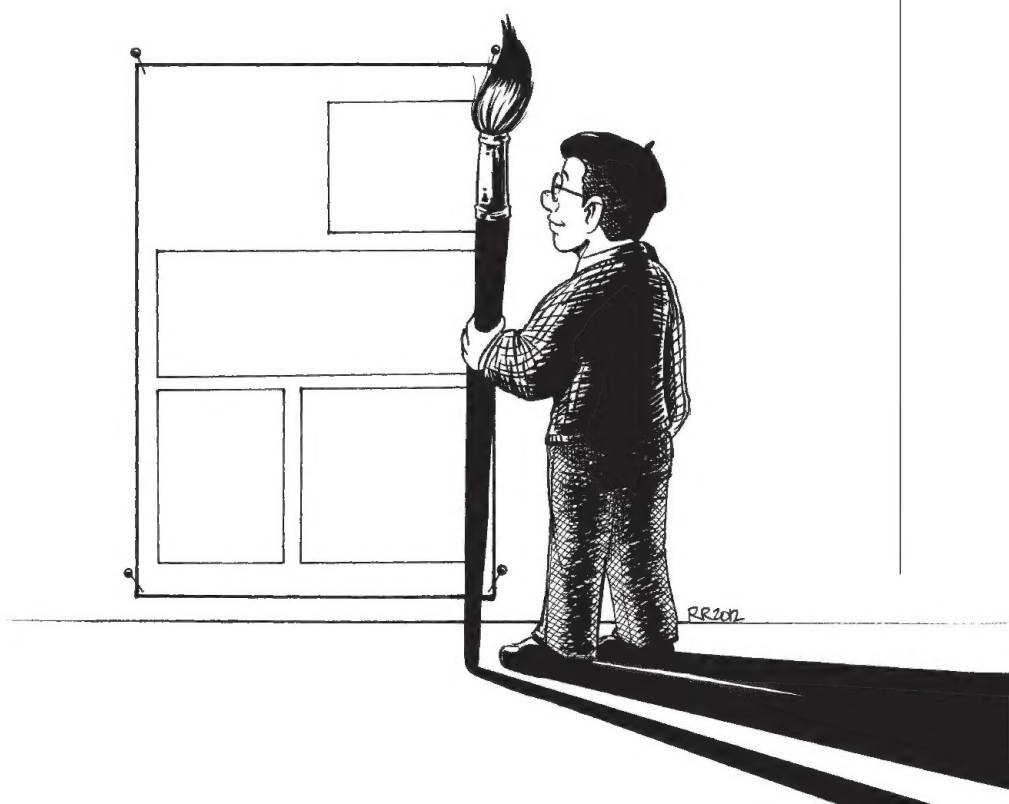

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Introduction

THOMAS LAMARRE

MANGA LIFE: TEZUKA . . .

In 2004, the art quarterly *ARTiT* published the results of its survey on manga artists. Among the one hundred and nineteen Japanese artists who replied to a question about which manga artist they preferred or felt had influenced them greatly, Tezuka Osamu received the greatest number of mentions, topping the list. It is difficult not to share the sense of surprise, disappointment, and even outrage expressed by art historian Yamashita Yūji: "Really? Tezuka Osamu? . . . I was rather surprised that all these artists were such ordinary children."[1] Yamashita had expected Otomo Katsuhiro, Matsumoto Taiyō, or Okazaki Kyōko to win top honors, not to mention his personal favorite, Tsuge Yoshihara. His sense of disappointment in the continued ascendency of Tezuka serves as a reminder that the value of Tezuka's works is determined not only by their inherent qualities but also by the mode of measurement: if Tezuka winds up on top today, even among young artists, it is in Yamashita's opinion because the mode of measurement selects for a particular quality—the ordinary.

This interpretation suggests that Tezuka's success is due to the very ubiquity of his work, which is related to its sheer volume and its industrial positioning: Tezuka wrote several hundred manga titles, initially serialized in a variety of magazines, while also working on animated films and television series, both adaptations of his manga and original animations. Such production was made possible by the rise of the editorial system in the context of manga

weeklies as well as the emergence of multimedia franchising and television. In this volume, Fujiki Hideaki discusses the formation of a manga industry centered on weekly magazines differentiated into distinct readerships (children, boys, girls, youth, adults), exploring how Tezuka's seinen manga developed a new mode of address that responded to the new socioeconomic realities of youth. Marc Steinberg and Jonathan Clements provide new insights into the business model emerging around Tezuka's adaptation of his *Astro Boy* manga for the small screen in the early 1960s, exploring both the dynamics of multimedia franchising (Steinberg) and evaluating the implications of new strategies of financing (franchises and overseas sales) that appeared in that context (Clements). Renato Rivera adds to this discussion with an account of the aesthetic and financial considerations arising in the context of Tezuka's move toward big-screen animated films in 1980.

It may not be surprising then that Tezuka's name appears even today at the top of the list of manga creators. Such a "Tezuka effect" is, to a considerable extent, an effect of transformations in production, distribution, and reception that gradually integrated and differentiated an overlapping series of specific "mass" markets and readerships in the postwar era. If Tezuka may today be described as ordinary, it is in no small part due to the ubiquity achieved by his works in the context of such socioeconomic transformations.

A similar Tezuka effect appears in manga scholarship. Challenges to the centrality of Tezuka—to the idea of Tezuka as the god of manga—appeared with the formation of serious manga studies. In the early 1990s, for instance, in his seminal work *Tezuka Osamu wa doko ni iru* (Where is Tezuka Osamu?), two chapters of which appear here in translation, Natsume Fusanosuke issued a challenge to Tezuka-centered manga histories, using semiotic and formal analysis to situate Tezuka's work not as the origin of manga but as part of an ongoing dialogue. Although works singing the praises of Tezuka's creativity and situating him at the center of manga development continue to be published on a regular basis, manga scholars have persuasively demonstrated that Tezuka drew a great deal of inspiration from the work of prewar and contemporary mangaka. In this volume, for instance, Ryan Holmberg resituates the impact of the manga magazine *Manga Shōnen* (inaugurated in 1948) in historical terms, showing its continuity with prewar manga and its relation to contemporary, competing publications.

Nonetheless, for a number of historical reasons, the Tezuka effect persists. In addition to the industrial effects mentioned above, Tezuka himself contributed to the myth: when discussing influences on his work, he usually spoke of Hollywood films (Chaplin, DeMille, Disney) rather than his Japanese

predecessors or contemporaries creating manga. What is more, as Natsume Fusanosuke indicates, his contemporaries and immediate successors also contributed to the formation of the myth of Tezuka as the origin of manga. This myth is also related to the general impulse to insist on a definitive break between wartime Japan and the new postwar order, between militarism and democracy, a distinction that is frequently staged and questioned in Tezuka's manga. In any event, due to the persistence of the Tezuka effect, editing a volume in which Tezuka figures so prominently raises some basic questions. Why publish a volume on Tezuka now? What is the significance of Tezuka today?

The original working title for this volume was *Manga Life: Tezuka . . .*, and as such a title attests, we adopted a two-fold strategy. On the one hand, we wished to decenter Tezuka by focusing this issue on "manga life." On the other hand, insofar as the Tezuka effect remains in effect, we felt that his work merits its attention as such. We hoped that the notion of manga life in the context of Tezuka would afford a way to move beyond a simple decentering of Tezuka toward a reconsideration of "Tezuka." Nonetheless it is telling that, in the course of producing this volume, editors and contributors frequently began to refer to it as "the Tezuka volume" rather than "the manga life volume." Not surprisingly perhaps, the title eventually became *Tezuka's Manga Life*.

The risk of focusing efforts on decentering Tezuka is that it simply reproduces the Tezuka effect at other levels: rather than eulogize the genius of Tezuka, one begins to champion the creative genius of his generation of artists, of the Tokiwasō, for instance; or, one replaces creative genius with marketing genius. Our resistance to such a displacement of the Tezuka effect does not mean that we wish to deny Tezuka's genuine creativity or business acumen. Indeed, Frederick Schodt's contribution to this volume speaks to the force of innovation evident in Tezuka's many projects. If we wished nevertheless to avoid a simple displacement of the god-like agency usually associated with Tezuka, it is partly to respond to another legacy associated with Tezuka, highlighted in Yomota Inuhiko's critique published previously in *Mechademia 3: Limits of the Human*: lingering on the paradigm of creativity tends to reproduce stories of authenticity and personhood associated with liberal humanism. In this respect, Hashimoto Yorimitsu makes an important contribution to this volume by discussing the historical emergence of the mangaka as an artist, as creator and auteur.

Beyond merely decentering Tezuka, the notion of manga life offers a way to *diffract* the Tezuka effect into different fields of inquiry. The section on "Nonhuman Life" expands the question of the nonhuman associated with Tezuka into the realms of design, line, and fabulation (Verina Gfader);

evolutionary theory (G. Clinton Godart); sacred economies grounded in matters of scale (Christine L. Marran); incipient feminism in the reinscription of the nonhuman feminine (Mary A. Knighton); and styles of didacticism tracing the divagations of insects and classical modes (Linda H. Chance). As mentioned above, contributors to the sections on "Media Life" and "A Life in Manga" offer different perspectives on the historical transformations in production, distribution, and reception that gradually integrated and differentiated an overlapping series of markets and readerships in the postwar era. It is not for the sake of stylistic resonance that we use the term "life" in these instances as well. We wished to highlight some questions emerging within the essays themselves and across their fields of inquiry. For instance, what is the relation between the prevalence of nonhuman or parahuman life forms and what Miyamoto Hirohito, in his contribution to *Mechademia 6: User Enhanced,* referred to as the sense of life (*seimeikan*) and autonomous existence (*sonzaikan*) of manga characters? Of course, the term *life* may be used differently across languages. For instance, *life* or *living* in English commonly refers both to "being alive" (*seimei*) and "making a living" (*seikatsu suru*). Yet, as Japanese scientist Imanishi Kinji remarks, how (and why) would we clearly distinguish living or being alive from making a living?

The term *life* thus allows us to call attention to other questions that appear across contributions. Tezuka's career is often evoked as paradigmatic of a transformation in the commercial viability of manga and anime, which made it possible to make a living in manga and anime, to live a life of manga and anime. One of the implications of such a transformation is that such a "life in manga" becomes impersonal. Even though "manga life" may be unevenly distributed and personalized in such forms as authors, schools, genres, modes of address, and markets, it also has an impersonal existence, with collective potential. Everyday life is where this politics plays out, where both the personal and the impersonal are the political.

Contributors to the section "Everyday Life" directly address such issues. Building on his prior work on Tezuka published in *Mechademia 3: Limits of the Human,* Ōtsuka Eiji traces the aesthetic lineage of contemporary manga and anime back to wartime Japan, linking it to fascist mobilization of the body, to corporatist aesthetics, as it were. Hikari Hori looks for potential connections between Tezuka and Hagio Moto, highlighting the sexual politics of manga bodies that appear somehow prepersonal because presexual (especially children) and exploring the implications of this impersonal force for female readers and creators. Patrick W. Galbraith shows how the impersonal force of affective attunement, once effectively channeled by Tezuka, paves the way

for *moe* culture. In the context of *Tetsuwan Atomu* or *Astro Boy,* Alicia Gibson looks at how the very ordinariness of manga serves to secure the ordinariness of nuclear energy and a securitized world. Finally, Toshiya Ueno tracks the legacy of domestication that relies on operations of filiations (history) and capture (media). Together these forays into the politics of the impersonal in Tezuka suggest that the impersonal force of affect is first and foremost a matter of taking something out of circulation. At the same time, however, they have shifted the site of politics, forcing us to ask what it would mean to put the impersonal into circulation differently. In effect, they provide a possible gloss for our engagement with Tezuka: to diffract Tezuka across fields of inquiry is to take the ordinary Tezuka out of circulation in the hope of putting something into circulation that would no longer be Tezuka at all. This is why we opted to situate manga about Tezuka at the same level as academic discourse: Anno Moyocco's remix of *Unico* explores the magic of shojo commodity culture, and Akatsuka Fujio's riff on struggling artists around Tezuka in *Tokiwasō Story* shows bodily collapse and inoperativity to be the very source of manga. Indeed, Japanese popular media forms may already have paved the way toward and beyond *Tezuka's Manga Life,* and this volume thus figures as a prehistory of the impersonal politics of the present.

Note

1. Yamashita Yūji, "'Manga' ga sukide, 'anime' ya 'aato' ga kirari na oyaji kara hitokoto: A few words from an old codger who likes 'manga' but loathes 'anime' and 'art,'" *ARTiT* 4 (Fall/Summer 2004): 70–71.

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Nonhuman Life

MARY A. KNIGHTON

"Becoming-Insect Woman": Tezuka's Feminist Species

KITA MORIO: *Ah yes, love for* mushi.

TEZUKA OSAMU: Mushi. *I have a real affinity for them, I think. I may be pretty free and easy about most things I write, but when it comes to* mushi, *I write faithfully. Because I care about them. That's why when I write about* mushi, *it has to be, well, biologically accurate.*

—Dialogue between Kita Morio and Tezuka Osamu, September 1978

All his life, Tezuka Osamu was bug crazy. As a boy, he collected them in Osaka Prefecture's Minoo Park and later in Takarazuka City, where he grew up. When schoolmates nicknamed him "Osamushi" (carabid beetle) in a pun on his first name, Tezuka added the *kanji* character for "bug" (*mushi*) to it.[1] He soon dropped the final "shi" sound, but the lasting visual mark speaks to the role of insects in Tezuka's life: we see in it the boy's dream of becoming an entomologist, his start as an artist drawing realistic insects together with his first manga in the *dōjinshi* he "published" in school, and his persistent return to insects as characters and motifs in his manga as an adult.[2] The stylized

IT IS NO EXAGGERATION TO SAY THAT INSECTS INSPIRED TEZUKA OSAMU'S OWN "MANGA LIFE," AND THAT HIS MANGA LITERALLY SWARMS WITH *MUSHI*.

kanji for *mushi* animated into a bookworm standing on its tail, with two dots for eyes behind large round glasses (Figure 1), likewise animated Tezuka the man, as his signature and in the logo for Mushi Productions. Of the more than 700 manga he produced in his lifetime, as many as 180 had insects in them.[3] It is no exaggeration to say that insects inspired Tezuka Osamu's own "Manga Life," and that his manga literally swarms with *mushi*.

Tezuka was hunting, identifying, and illustrating insects (*konchū*) in his earliest manga at elementary and middle school in the 1930s. Governmental and social institutions had already popularized insect collecting as scientific learning for boys, and such youths were called *konchū shōnen*. Jean-Henri Fabre's (1823–1915) ten-volume *Souvenirs Entomologiques* (1879–1907), translated as *Konchūki*, began to appear in the Taishō era and never went out of print. Fabre's entertaining and educational stories of insect life made them popular with adults and children alike. Fabre's books were not banned during the war, unlike most foreign books; allegedly, kamikaze pilots could carry the imperial poetry anthology the *Man'yōshū* (circa 785, Collection of myriad leaves) and *Konchūki*.[4] Any rush to presume nativism in talk of a unique Japanese love of insects is complicated by the fact that socialist anarchist Osugi Sakae (1885–1923)[5] first translated Fabre in 1922. He read Fabre in English during his years of incarceration before being murdered by police in 1923.[6] Japanese nationalists and insurrectionists alike praised Fabre's *Konchūki*.

In the short manga, *Faaburu sensei no mushi monogatari* (1958, Dr. Fabre's bug story), Tezuka retells Fabre's story of the dung beetle, loved by Osugi Sakae and many other readers.[7] Tezuka plays up the scatological humor of Dr. Fabre urging boys to look more closely at a pile of cow dung (Figure 2). In it lives a bug who enjoys eating smelly dung before making a ball out of it two or three times its size (called amusingly a *dango*, after the round Japanese sweet), which it then comically has to push, pull, and determinedly roll all the way home. A slapstick show to observe, the dung beetle chases after its runaway *dango*, retrieves it, then does a handstand with its hind legs in the air, kicking the ball backwards along a crazy zigzag path.[8] By the manga's end, we learn the female bug has brought the dungball home as both shelter and food for her larvae that will be born just as she dies. For Tezuka, this was a moving story of humor and pathos. The humor of shitballs rolled by an acrobatic beetle is inexhaustible; the pathos comes from observing the beetle make its arduous journey only to die soon after arrival in her underground home.

But that death is overcome phoenix-like by new beetles winging their way into full insect life with the mother beetle's sacrificial demise. For Tezuka, writing in a 1964 column aimed at young readers called "*Boku no konchūki* – 1" (My insect life – part 1),[9] what amazed him was the *tamaoshi kogane*'s (ball-pushing beetle's) mysterious power of rebirth and transformation.[10] Such themes of rebirth and metamorphosis are reworked over and over again in *Phoenix* (*Hi no tori*), Tezuka's self-confessed life work. How curious to think that Tezuka's glorious firebird may have its mysterious origins not only in his early love of bugs and Fabre's *Konchūki,* but more specifically in the lowly dung beetle, revered since ancient Egypt as the sacred scarab of the Sun God attending each day's rebirth.[11]

FIGURE 1. Tezuka as a bug collector with his signature in the shape of the kanji for *mushi*. Back cover of Kobayashi Junji, ed., *Tezuka Osamu no konchū hakurankai* (Tezuka Osamu's Insect Exhibition) (Tokyo: Isoppusha, 1998). Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

Insects comprise the largest number, and most diversity, of animal species, and, as this essay's epigraph attests, Tezuka delighted in their actual biological details, together with their symbolic and literary power. He created children's insect characters inspired by Fleischer Studios' *Mr. Bug Goes to Town* (1941) and entertaining Disney-esque *Silly Symphony* (1929–39) short animations; in his science fiction manga, insects function as alien creatures, mecha, or high-tech robotic inventions.[12] From the *yōkai* of *InuYasha* or insectoid, microbic visions of *Mushi-shi,* to soul-reaping avatars in *Bleach,* there are more insect-inspired characters in today's contents industry than can be enumerated here. Tezuka's fecund and futuristic insect imagination seeded this immense cultural production in contemporary Japan.[13]

In this essay, discussion of Japan's entomological affinities and Tezuka's attraction to insects, real and imagined, in his life and corpus give way to *gekiga,* the adult manga, of *Ningen Konchūki* (1970–71; trans. *The Book of Human Insects*, 2011). Insects serve Tezuka well in writing his life story into the

FIGURE 2. Fabre teaching boys the beauty of dung-eating beetles. Included in Kobayashi Junji, ed., "Faaburu sensei no mushi monogatari" (Professor Fabre's Bug Stories), *Tezuka Osamu no konchū hakurankai*, 8. Originally published in *Gonen no gakushū* (Fifth-year studies) (June 1958). Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

postwar story of Japan, with *ZEPHYRUS* (1971) laying the groundwork for his best-known autobiographical manga,[14] *Kami no Toriide* (Paper fortress, 1974). Written in the same time period as *ZEPHYRUS*, *Human Insects* stresses survival and adaptation via insect metaphors, but, in contrast to the former's individual story of a boy's lost innocence in the experience of war, *Human Insects* develops them as an adult story of sex and corruption in Japan's societal, governmental, and business institutions. Insects allow Tezuka to effect both individual and national critique due, on the one hand, to insects' radical alterity, but also because even individual insects represent insect societies as complex, even mechanistic, systems. Ultimately, Tezuka's insect trope complicates binary sex and gender in human society, with surprisingly feminist implications.

NINGEN KONCHŪKI (THE BOOK OF HUMAN INSECTS)

The Book of Human Insects centers on Tomura Toshiko, a beautiful woman who achieves great fame and fortune over the course of the story.[15] Within pages of opening the manga, though, we learn that her gains are ill gotten and have left others in ruins. Having just won Japan's highest literary prize for her novel, Toshiko gives her acceptance speech amid flashing lightbulbs. Juxtaposed against this scene of brilliance, however, is a dark room where a nameless woman has hanged herself: the real Tomura Toshiko. In what turns out to be her modus operandi, "Tomura Toshiko" gets close to lovers and friends the better to learn their talent, steal it from them, and finally supplant them altogether. When the real Tomura Toshiko learns of her novel's theft with the prize announcement, she commits suicide, leaving her name and success to be inhabited by Usuba Kageri.

Initially an actress who impersonated others, "Toshiko" continues to assume new roles, first sexually seducing and then slowly draining her male partners of their money and talent. Toshiko's former lover, Hachisuka Hyoruku, once ran Theatre Claw to some acclaim. Unwittingly, he had helped Toshiko study under, then replace, his star actress. It was only a matter of time before Toshiko forced him out, too, by taking his place as director. Fallen on hard times and with unrequited love for her, Hachisuka follows Toshiko's career rise. His narrative function is to fill the reader in on her past while sympathetically justifying her actions.

This narrative stresses that Toshiko once loved, and married, designer Mizuno Ryotaro, but when she stole his drawings and used them to win the prestigious New York Design Academy competition that he was preparing to enter, Mizuno leaves her. Toshiko's next victim is the novelist, which is where the manga opens. In a more subtle substitution, she foils the anarchist Arikawa in his plot to assassinate the prime minister by publishing a "fictional" story about it gleaned by stealing his notebook. When Toshiko bests her second husband and CEO of Dai Nippon Steel, Kamaishi Kiriro, at his own high-stakes corporate games and causes his downfall, he, too, kills himself. She finally usurps famous photographer Yamato Tamao's role: having stolen his film catching her in the act of criminal deception, Toshiko uses the nude photos to hide her crimes in plain sight, publicizing them as her own to international acclaim.

Infatuated men, like the reporter Aokusa, follow her home in order to find out who the multi-talented Toshiko really is. Surreptitiously, they witness

her shocking secret: like a butterfly or other larval insect, Tomura Toshiko sheds one female skin in order to assume the next and is periodically born anew in a process of metamorphosis (Figure 3). Transforming through stages of development, Toshiko becomes a new woman each time, as if a molting insect shedding an exoskeleton that no longer fits. Guided by an apparent "homing instinct," Toshiko returns regularly to her childhood home in a rural village where she narrates and records her life story to a grotesque wax replica of her dead mother. Nursing at her mother's fake withered breast, a naked Toshiko rolls freely on the tatami, stretching and laughing like an animal or a child (27–29). Her regression to infantile suckling on a fake breast implies a desire for nourishment unattainable physically; it might also remind us of insects, such as the dung beetle, that nourish themselves on their mother's dead bodies. In her home, detailed from frame to frame simultaneously as a mausoleum to her childhood (319–20), as a primitive animal den (28–29), and as a chrysalis for her ceaseless rebirth (22), Toshiko knits together her strength for self-generation. Like a larval insect, her new body is as tender and vulnerable as a baby's, requiring her to stay safe at home until it hardens into a new exoskeleton. While Toshiko steals others' talents, she has her own "natural" talent, or instinct, for metamorphosis and mimicry.

Toshiko's real identity, which we learn briefly at the start of *Human Insects* and are reminded of again at its end when she takes a passport with that name, is Usuba Kageri. We may well forget it because she is called Tomura Toshiko throughout the story. Near the manga's opening, a large close-up of Mizuno's face accompanies his thought-text, "Tomura Toshiko" (5). The character for *To* is the same in both of her names, meaning "ten," but this is less significant than the shape of the characters (+) as crosses, or x's. In the vertical text, the two characters are deliberately, and strikingly, lined up, suggesting that her names are mere placeholders for the many identities yet to fill in these blanks. We can imagine the reader's confusion if Tezuka had changed her name each time she assumed a new identity; and yet, rather than call her by her true name, he maintains the fake one as the one that best represents her character and talent. It takes only a slight twist or two on Usuba Kageri to see why: *usubakagerō* means "ant lion,"[16] which all too aptly identifies the femme fatale temptress and vampiric Toshiko. Separating her names again to study the characters literally, we learn that *usuba* refers to a "mortar" (*usu*) in its "place" (*ba*); with women frequently likened as mortars to male pestles, the word is almost anatomical. Moreover, Kageri, when read as *kagerō*, refers to a kind of dragonfly whose name in Japanese, as in other languages, echoes the Greek *ephemero* ("short-lived"). Most insect lives are ephemeral, and so

ONE AFTER ANOTHER, SHE FREELY SHED HER PREVIOUS VEILS, CONSTANTLY CHALLENGING HERSELF TOWARDS NEW INCARNATIONS, LIKE SOME METAMORPHOSING BUTTERFLY LARVA...

FIGURE 3. Tomura Toshiko's metamorphosis. From Vertical translation, *The Book of Human Insects* (New York: Vertical Inc., 2011), 22. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

too will be Toshiko's in Greece, sensing her own extinction. Assuming national proportions by the manga's conclusion, Tezuka's Usuba Kageri stands in for the Japan that Emperor Jimmu once anointed Akitsushima, "The Island of Dragonflies."[17]

In the end of *Ningen Konchūki,* Hachisuka confronts Toshiko with her diary, but she murders him and escapes to Greece under her real name, Usuba Kageri. In the manga's final panels, she stands amid ruins in Athens. Having immolated her fake mother and the shrine to her childhood by setting fire to her house, her homing instinct guides her to the West. This new home functions as a new origin site of birth and decay, replacing the "womb" (324) space of her former home. Finally, we see her atop the Acropolis. Toshiko has come to represent something larger than herself, standing in for a postwar, capitalist Japan that, like her, is empty (*munashii,* 303).[18] Thus metonymically aligning Greece's ruins with Japan—and linking the old and the new, the past and the present, through Hadrian's Arch—Toshiko stands at the edge of extinction atop the Parthenon. The race to prosperity has led to a lonely, lofty seat at the top of the world, on civilization's pile of ruins. Tezuka's satire, we see, lies not simply in questioning Western civilization as a good model for Japan in the first place but, more poignantly, in prefiguring that choice's final flowering for both East and West into decadent ruins.[19]

THE FEMINIST SPECIES

Post-Occupation politics, "miraculous" economic growth, mass consumerism, and the "women's lib" movement backlight Tezuka's use of a female protagonist's sexual conquests to tell a tale of corporate and government rapacity. Sexist representations in media and literature were a focus of "consciousness-raising" feminists of the 1970s, and in order to depict the challenges his insect woman confronts, Tezuka dallies with stereotypes to exploit both sympathy and antagonism toward feminists. Lacking a core self or sense of responsibility while manipulating others for narcissistic gain in vampiric dependence, Toshiko appears as a reactionary argument against female independence. Never a mother and arguably always a child (in the larval stage), Toshiko's ability to transform herself in the story's themes of rebirth verge on the superstitious and supernatural, acting as the flip side to worship of women's reproductive capabilities. Other female stereotypes—that women are frivolously childish and fickle, hormonal monsters, insatiably sexual without understanding their own desires, and frighteningly closer to nature than men—easily map onto

Toshiko, a highly biological creature. Echoing the film *All About Eve* (1950), Toshiko's pathology is, in short, her feminism: she loses her femininity in being ruthlessly ambitious in seeking social advancement and abandoning family for selfish career aspirations, trying to be "like men."

And yet, in *Human Insects*, the species-ification of female sexuality as an aberrant, monstrously adaptive, and insect-like one also produces in Tomura Toshiko a strong female protagonist concerned with survival at all costs in a hostile male-dominated environment. This feminist species functions as a national allegory for Japan's means of negotiating power relations domestically and with the United States and other countries on the postwar, late capitalist stage; it also serves as an autobiographical mask for Tezuka's career-shifting experiments in *gekiga* with the quasi-autobiographical *ZEPHYRUS*, as he negotiated professional fears of impotence and decline in the face of new manga trends. Tezuka's feminist species thus serves as a vehicle to depict not only the obstacles Japanese women faced in being recognized as fully human and allowed to participate in all spheres of society as a legacy of the Occupation—a trope that maps onto Japan's relationship with its own dominant "partner," the United States—but also those of Japanese men emasculated first in defeat and Occupation and then in the cutthroat postwar race to become the world's second-largest economy.

Tezuka's "Afterword" to *Human Insects* makes clear that understanding the historical moment is necessary for grasping his goals in this work:

> I wrote this story in a time when all the news blaring on the television and in the newspapers was gloomy—the antagonism towards those groups calling themselves the New Left, indiscriminate acts of terrorism, the quagmire of Vietnam, and the Cultural Revolution in China. On the other hand, it was also a time of Japan's high economic growth running at full speed for the world's top GNP spot. The sunshine and the shadows of this absurd time made me want to depict a strong, Machiavellian woman living through it.[20]

Tezuka's "sunshine and shadows" are literally dramatized from the manga's outset. Only the opening pages in the Japanese editions of *Human Insect* are in lush color, depicting the glittering lights and elites at Toshiko's awards ceremony. Abruptly, the black-and-white section begins with a nameless and anonymous suicide hanging in a dark room, a full-page panel saturated in black ink. Toshiko's "Machiavellian" opportunism and mimicry allow her to operate within her society's pell-mell pursuit of material wealth and rise above the pack. Her successful adaptation satirizes the self-destructive costs of such

a society, her insect form a satirical counter to the anthropomorphic.[21] In having to adapt to human society, Toshiko fractures its rational surface and then reflects our repellent qualities back at us.

Reinforcing the historical backdrop and intentions described by Tezuka in the above "Afterword," the labyrinthine plot of *Human Insects* is one through which Toshiko moves to define not only her personal identity but a national identity as well. For Tezuka's insect woman to master the maze, and succeed as such a character, she must pull together the tightening subplots, from the yakuza Tousan Gang's criminal ties to past war crimes in Korea and association with left-wing terrorists, to the corporate predations and corruption played out by Dai Nippon Steel's Kamaishi in his own master scheme to stage a political and corporate coup in their business dealing between Taiwan and China. Notably, Toshiko's initial role in these plots is simply to react to how *inhuman* these "wars" of history and business are, even to an insect woman.

As fantastic insect woman, Toshiko is such a cold-blooded murderer and manipulative identity thief that to argue that misogynistic negative stereotypes should not characterize her misses the point. Rather, we might revel in her *eroguro* glory and lament that we do not have more of it. Toshiko's parasitic insect life and polymorphous perversity go hand in hand, enabling her to obscure (almost) her negative feminist image. Strikingly absent, though—particularly if Toshiko were indeed intended as more *eroguro,* quasi-pornographic insect woman than "real woman"—are scenes of *kamakiri* (praying mantis) sex. After all, Tezuka delighted in repeating this story in his *konchū* comics: the female has sex and in *coitus interruptus* has her mate for dinner, too. Although generally more Umezu Kazuo's style than Tezuka's, it is not difficult to imagine a *kamakiri* lover among Toshiko's career performances. Tezuka once joked with author Kita Morio that although his manga developed a "discourse of female *kamakiri*" (*josei kamakiriron*) he had to be careful—or his wife might eat him.[22] One such *kamakiri* manga can be found in *Yoromeki dōbutsuki* (1964–65, Tales of fallen animals), a gag comic of a husband henpecked by his wife.[23] Dated gender jokes such as these remind us that Tezuka was a man of his generation, facilely wielding sexist stereotypes as his prerogative. As a manga artist, though, he still had to adapt to changes afoot at home and abroad with the sexual revolution. Moreover, faced with government and local censorship of *gekiga* manga for its sex and violence, artists like Tezuka found themselves caught amid moralizing censors, housewives wringing their hands over children reading obscenities, and feminists coming down on both sides of free sexual expression. Producing futuristic character and story manga for overseas as well as domestic audiences, and father of a

daughter besides, Tezuka surely wondered what the future would hold for women and for artists, and what sort of modern woman his own daughter would become. We have the benefit of knowing part of that future: Tezuka Rumiko recently edited a collection of her father's erotic manga.[24]

IN HAVING TO ADAPT TO HUMAN SOCIETY, TOSHIKO FRACTURES ITS RATIONAL SURFACE AND THEN REFLECTS OUR REPELLENT QUALITIES BACK AT US.

Toshiko fits into Tezuka's more adult *josei kamakiriron*. In his insect fable "Diary of an Insect Shōjo's Vagabond Life" (1955, Konchū shōjo no hōrōki—included in its first English translation in this volume), a precursor to *Human Insects* that includes a *kamakiri* scene, Tezuka depicts the suffering of women in a male-dominated society. The heroine is a female silverfish named Shimiko who sheds her exoskeleton and goes to the big city to make her way in the world. Once there, innocent Shimiko falls in with the wrong crowd and gets caught up in the sex trade; that is, she sells her juices in return for money. After a series of predations by male insects, Shimiko recognizes political and social corruption for what it is and becomes an activist. Surrounded by placard-waving protesters, she shouts slogans on a soapbox in support of the Law to Prevent Selling One's Juices. Selling juices, or *baijū*, is a homophonous twist on *baishun*, or prostitution, which makes of the latter a verb applicable to both men and women in all professions who choose to greedily prostitute themselves for profit over their own integrity. In the end, though, the bill does not pass into law because of collusion between male interests in government and business. In despair after her political defeat and literally beaten up by hired thugs for having been a feminist pest, Shimiko decides to commit suicide.

The suicide panel appears in the manga's first frames and ends it, allowing the manga's story to fill us in on an ending we know from the start.[25] Our expectation is subverted, though: when Shimiko jumps to her death from a drainpipe, above her a human woman jumps too, mirroring her despair in the different worlds in which they live. The woman survives unhurt, then saves Shimiko. In the final panel, Shimiko resolves to go on living: upon realizing that women's lives in the human world are not the ideal she had imagined, she chooses insect life instead.

To understand how Shimiko evolves into Toshiko requires a closer look at both texts. The insect Shimi, written with the characters for "paper" and for "fish," is a silverfish known in a Japan as the equivalent of the "bookworm." It lives in the pages of books and eats the glue of bindings.[26] But, as Tezuka's entomologist colleague Kobayashi Junji points out, the narrative preface to the manga tale suggests a different kind of insect: the *aburamushi* (aphid, or

plant louse), which has an unusual mutualistic relationship with ants. The *aburamushi* secretes tasty juices from its nether end that the ants drink and, in return, the ants share food from their mouths with the *aburamushi*. Tezuka deliberately uses the mutually beneficial society of *aburamushi* and ants to inform the "moral" of his insect fable from its outset: we should live together in harmony despite our differences.

Unnamed in the preface, the insect with the ants that Tezuka intended was surely the *aburamushi*, not the silverfish; Kobayashi conjectures that Tezuka's error may actually be artistic license. But Tezuka just as intentionally omits naming the insect, drawing Shimiko with a distinctive silverfish tail, while depicting her later civil servant clients with the apple shape and tail of the *aburamushi*. We see now why our heroine Shimiko cannot secrete juices, no matter how hard her clients try to squeeze them out of her: she is not an aphid. Consequently, she cannot milk her clients either. She is simply a different species. Forced to think beyond any pat ending, we see how the layered insect and human tales tell one story. The moralistic conclusion and preface are overwhelmed by the story itself, which undercuts the moral of "harmony among differences" by likening it to a mutually parasitic form of social and government corruption reliant on prostitution and distasteful insect pests; even a dirty joke of mutual oral sex lurks behind the fable's façade of clear morals.

Even as one hesitates to describe Tezuka's personal politics as feminist, his insect woman fictions afford a surprisingly progressive take on women's human rights in a rapidly changing and reactionary Japanese society. That Shimiko is a book-loving silverfish and not as harmful an insect pest as the *aburamushi* (which forms a gall on trees) implies sympathy for his protagonist's feminist leanings. This sympathy is evident in Tezuka's manga title, which borrows from Hayashi Fumiko's enormously popular *A Vagabond's Life* (1930, *Hōrōki*). Hayashi's artful diary details her wanderings from place to place, job to job, lover to lover. The artist she would finally marry was named, coincidentally enough, Tezuka (Rokubin). Other Hayashi novels with similar themes ended up as enormously successful films by director Naruse Mikio, including *Floating Clouds* (*Ukigumo*) in 1955, the year that Tezuka creates his curiously feminist insect manga. The significance of diaries to feminist thought is shared by Hayashi's and Tezuka's vagabonds and informs as well a key motif in *Human Insects*. We should note that the autobiographical impetus also shapes Tezuka's *ZEPHYRUS/Paper Fortress* response to *gekiga* demands.

To succeed in a man's world as the postwar second wave of feminism broke over society, Japanese women needed veritable super(insect)powers. Shimiko aptly illustrates what the so-called Housewife Debate (*shufu ronsō*) of 1955

documents, that feminists were debating the value of women's work in and outside the home, and whether a wife was a bourgeois prostitute or an unpaid source of labor.[27] The easy ridicule and institutional obstacles to women's advancement outside the home were rife.[28] The women and men who participated in the Housewife Debate often disagreed heatedly but the ongoing series over two decades thoroughly explored the complex role of women and gender in a changing Japan. Any process of social adaptation to, and transformation of, women's roles in society would proceed by throwing out what does not work, like an old exoskeleton. Tezuka replaces Shimiko with Toshiko, but Toshiko has yet another exoskeleton in her closet: Mizuno's wife, Shijimi.

Shijimi and Toshiko are alter egos, and not only because they look preternaturally alike and both marry the same man.[29] Just as Toshiko is likened to an insect metamorphosing through its larval stages, as if a butterfly or moth, *Shijimi* in Japanese refers to one kind of Zephyrus butterfly, Tezuka's favorite insect. This butterfly was the subject of his quasi-autobiographical manga, *ZEPHYRUS*, written as Tezuka was serializing and writing *The Book of Human Insects*. When we take this into account, Toshiko reads as Shijimi's dark twin, a night moth to Shijimi's butterfly. Tezuka depicts just such a moth fatale in an episode of *I.L.* (Figure 4).[30] Toshiko refuses to be her twin, Shijimi: a decorative and passive woman, a good and quiet wife with no opinions, a sexually attractive and pliant former geisha, a wife for whom her husband's wish is her command. While Shijimi is always dressed in kimono, Toshiko dresses in modern clothes—when she wears clothes!—and represents a modern woman with ambition. In order to become free and independent, she had first to discard the Shijimi exoskeleton version of herself that represents

FIGURE 4. I.L. as a hybrid poisonous moth/vengeful wife of the husband who tried to kill his wife with poisonous moths ["What's the matter? You like moths, don't you?"), Tezuka Osamu, "The Moth" [*Ga*], *I.L.*, Vol. 1. Tezuka Osamu Manga Zenshū 262 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1982/2001), 47. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

feudalistic household (*ie seidō*) tradition and the past. In refusing to be Shijimi, though, Toshiko evokes their contrast and choices even more vividly, paralleling Tezuka's vagabond shōjo manga in striking ways.

In *Human Insects,* Shijimi, like Shimiko before her, is victimized by her patriarchal society, while Toshiko thrives on the competition within it like Tezuka's "strong Machiavellian woman." Exploited as a geisha working for the company boss who later hires Mizuno, Shijimi had been forced to take many clients until multiple abortions damage her health, leaving her susceptible to tuberculosis. Shijimi dies, too weak to survive in this world. Although Tezuka and his first readers may have found Shijimi/Zephyrus more beautiful in her sacrificial ephemeral life (understandably preferable to the murderous Toshiko), it is worth remembering how Shijimi helps Toshiko: Shijimi agrees to switch places with her temporarily so that Toshiko can escape her husband's surveillance, get an abortion, and thwart her husband's next move in their chess game of a marriage. This switch is a plot device but it also functions to tell the reader that the two women are alter egos who still have much in common, and their alterity may be less adversarial than a matter of different choices made. Toshiko loves Mizuno, but she never tries to hurt Shijimi or get Mizuno for herself. The weak Shijimi is simply no match for Toshiko, her more evolved sister, and, bluntly put, loving Mizuno is not enough for Toshiko. Toshiko is a biological creature, but unlike Shijimi or a pure insect, her biology is no longer her destiny. The insect woman is thus made, not born. Consider how Toshiko stands out wherever she goes in her society: as a woman surrounded by men, it often looks as if she does not belong. One would think that she constituted the "problem" (*josei mondai*) when in fact she only appears as an aberration in a "natural" world of men. Tezuka's feminist species, we might say, is a freak of this particular kind of nature.

"BECOMING-INSECT WOMAN"

Pat acceptance of corruption and women's sexual exploitation as the human way of the world goes against the grain of Tezuka's *konchū shōjo* manga. Its narrative structure, sexual humor, and conclusion reinforce the fact that the story is about an imagined third term, what feminist theorist Rosi Braidotti in *Metamorphoses* (2002) calls "becoming-insect," and which I contend overlays the concept of "becoming-woman" in this reading of Tezuka's feminist insects.[31] Working from theorists Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's elaboration of philosopher Henri Bergson, Braidotti's concepts stress the need to

envision our social and lived intensities in new ways, in order to create a more materialist feminist ethics of bodies in their environments. One such way is through the more radical biomorphic alterity of insects rather than through our usual anthropomorphic and corporeal lenses:

> [Insects] pose the question of radical otherness not in metaphorical but in biomorphic terms, that is to say as a metamorphosis of the sensory and cognitive apparatus. In this regard, the insect provides a new paradigm for discontinuous transmutations without major disruptions. The key elements of this are: larval metamorphoses; the speed of their reproductive system; the propensity to generate mutations; the faster rate of genetic recombination. Moreover, not having any major neuronal reservoir, insects are free from the hold of memory and of the socially enforced forms of sedimented memory, known as institutions. In Deleuze's terminology, they are multiple singularities without fixed identities.[32]

A "becoming" phenomenology redefines ontology in movement and change, in what one does, and how one connects to the world and to one's sensorium rather than in what one is. "Becoming-insect" as a further conjugation of "becoming-woman" means being neither simply woman nor insect alone, offering instead a posthumanist and feminist vantage point for imagining anew the myriad and complex performances, exchanges, transactions, and circulations of embodied "women." As hybrid natural and social animal, breaking free of the preconceived molds that constrain her as either woman or insect, the insect woman plugs into social and natural environments with an efficiency, ethical commitment, and affective intensity that promises to alter the systems of which she is a part.[33] The reassurances of static definition and identity are trumped by sure mobility and change in our brave new world where adaptation is revitalizing and nothing short of vital. In short, this is the posthumanist species of feminist subject that Tezuka could not have articulated as such in his time but that nonetheless speaks uncannily to our own via his insect woman figurations.

Strict literary conventions accompany Japan's long and rich insect culture, but Tezuka cultivated an insect imagination free from such constraints by also drawing on world literature and fabricating nonexistent creatures. Besides realistic drawings of insect specimens, Tezuka conjured forth insect species, hybrids of human culture and insect biology, giving them satirical, humorous, or Latin-sounding names (Figure 5).[34] Manga scholar Takeuchi Osamu describes the anthropomorphized insects in Tezuka's fictions as "chimera,"

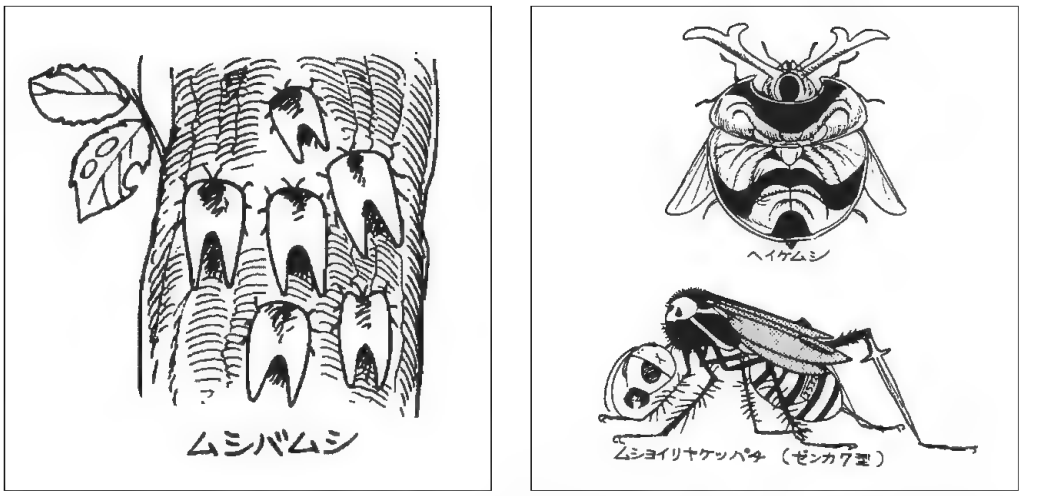


FIGURE 5. Imaginary insects that Tezuka created in his school notebooks: The Cavity Bugs, Heike samurai mushi, Jailbait Yellow Jacket [ex-con]. Included in Tezuka Osamu and Kobayashi Junji, *Tezuka Osamu: Konchū zukan* (Tezuka Osamu's Illustrated Guide to Insects) (Tokyo: Kodansha Plus-Alpha Bunko, 1997 [1992]), 259. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

animals assembled from many parts in Tezuka's imagination.[35] Tezuka's chimeric, hybrid, "becoming-insect woman" enables us to see not just the animal or the environment to which she adapts but both as part of a *system* of many moving parts that challenges feminism for its atomistic individualism or any simplistic liberationism.

Manga critic Ishigami Mitsutoshi argues that although most anthropomorphized insects in manga are male, Tezuka stands out for the many female insect protagonists in his work. He claims that Tezuka's young male readership was more comfortable with the overt physical and biological attributes of *mesu* (female sexed) life-forms because, unlike the demanding social and emotional complexities—and sexual taboos—surrounding real women, young men could scrutinize, discuss, and dissect insect females without embarrassment or social disapprobation.[36] Ono Akira agrees with Ishigami that it was audience above all that determined the choice of gender for Tezuka's human insects.[37] This "science of sex" thinking perhaps underlies Tezuka's description of his fictional females as "cute" *iseibutsu* (foreign bodies).[38] But in Tomura Toshiko, Tezuka does not supply the usual object of male desire. Behind Tomura Toshiko's side-by-side ++'s, from the very start of *The Book of Human Insects,* are the eyes of an insect woman with her readerly male prey pinned in her crosshairs.

Like them or not, Tezuka's feminist species enact multiple biomorphic and social possibilities. Their "insect woman" fictional guises in representative manga—*Chiteikoku no kaijin* (1948, Strange creatures in an underground

country), *Ari to kyojin* (1961, Ants and giants), *Chikyū o nomu* (1968, *Swallowing the Earth*), and *ZEPHRYUS* (1971)—reach their apotheosis in *Human Insects*.[39] Almost twenty years before *Human Insects* gives us Tomura Toshiko (aka Usuba Kageri) as a dubiously victorious feminist adaptation to the postwar environment, Tezuka sketched out its less happy precedent in "Diary of an Insect Shōjo's Vagabond Life." This earlier social satire of postwar corruption creates Shimiko as a feminist victim in a manga published in the wake of an Occupation that roiled Japan's gender dynamics: women got the vote and new freedoms that men, reinstalled in power, were, at best, ambivalent about and, at worst, tried to roll back or resented as the lingering sting of the Occupation's emasculation.

The term "feminist" aptly captures this postwar history, Tezuka's natural environment for creating insect women characters. As used in Japan throughout the 1960s and 1970s, it referred less to women than to *men* who were kind to women; gentlemen opening doors for women, for instance, was deemed "feminist." Designating foreign liberated women and Japanese men as "feminist" doubly troubles this word's accrued domestic and imported connotations in Japan. The liberated human as foreign woman renders the Japanese woman a different species, like Shimiko. The man, meanwhile, who cannot compete in his society risks emasculation, and he who panders to weak women as a "feminist" risks feminization by association. "Becoming-woman" is evidently not limited to biological females, and negative gender stereotyping of the "feminine" and "feminist" impacts men as surely as women in Japan.

HOMME / FEMME FATALE: MW

My conclusion proceeds by way of anecdote. Tezuka insisted to his friend, Kita Morio, a fellow writer and insect collector, that when he used to collect bugs, he was most interested in the hermaphroditic (*shiyūtai*) insects, as they were more unusual. These insects led to his interest in creating fictional protagonists that were neither male nor female (*otoko demo nai, onna demo nai*)[40] or that were, in human terms, hermaphroditic (*haninyō*). Characters such as Mitchy in *Metropolis,* the eponymous Princess Knight, and *MW*'s Yuki Michio are well-known examples. "Diary of an Insect Shōjo's Vagabond Life" is apparently Tezuka's earliest use of the term "MW" to describe a more complex, hybrid gender: man/woman; half-male, half-female; intersex, and complex gender are all encompassed by this significant concept in Tezuka's fictions. Strikingly, in the September 1955 essay he contributed to the Housewife

Debates to warn Japanese men and women against such blurring of gender lines, Mochizuki Mamoru invoked "MW." This was the same month and year in which Tezuka's manga "Diary of an Insect Shōjo's Vagabond Life" first appeared.[41]

Tezuka's observations in the natural world led him to create fictional characters that explored more expansive notions of sexed bodies. What his intellect made room for, his imagination expanded considerably in conjuring fictions of human insects. In line with Fabre's insistence that books alone are insufficient, Tezuka's insects were also drawn from both life and imagination; why wouldn't his insect women be too? The insects that he caught and catalogued challenged the categories and limits of single-sexed bodies, complicating common-sense notions about society's sex/gender systems.

As we saw with his "Afterword" to *The Book of Human Insects*, Tezuka wanted Usuba Kageri to represent the contradictions and absurdities, the "sunshine and shade" (*in to yo*), of larger historical and political forces in his time. Much later, in his conversation with Kita Morio, Tezuka repeats this idea in the expression *haninyo* to evoke his biological notion of a third sex (*han/in/yo* is literally "half sun, half shade"). Usuba Kageri evolves out of earlier MW characters as well as Shimiko and Shijimi to most fully realize Tezuka's *gekiga* insect woman. As a Machiavellian feminist species, she only comes to life, and thrives, in the very particular social and political environments that humans can make.

Notes

With gratitude for ever-illuminating conversation and always expert advice, I acknowledge the following individuals and organizations: Watanabe Tomoko of the Kyoto International Manga Museum; Okumoto Daisaburō of the Fabre Museum; Matsui Hideki; Tatsumi Takayuki; C. J. Suzuki; Elizabeth Teaffe of the Washington & Lee University Library; Suzuki Ichirō; and Jessica Oreck of Myriapod Productions.

1. Media studies professor and well-known Tezuka scholar Takeuchi Osamu recounts Tezuka's oft-repeated story that his best friend in elementary school, Ishihara Minoru, bestowed the nickname upon him (*Tezuka Osamu: Aachisto ni naru na* [Tokyo: Minerva Shobo, 2008], 28–32). Besides Ishihara's own written account claiming that Tezuka was drawn to the name without Ishihara needing to give it to him (included in Tezuka Osamu, *Boku no manga jinsei* [My Manga Life][Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1997], 44), Takeuchi refers to other classmates' testimony that just who gave Tezuka the name at the time is not clear as they all teased him while looking at the illustrated book of insects that Ishihara had brought to class. In looking at Hirayama Shūjirō's *Genshoku senshu konchū zufu* [Original color pictures of 1000 kinds of insects] (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1933), it was the *osamushi* (carabid beetle) that caught the boys' attention for its appearance, and for the pun they could make with

Tezuka's first name. In *Tezuka Osamu shōnen no jitsuzō* (The real shōnen Tezuka Osamu), memories of Tezuka's elementary school life are recalled by a classmate, Izutani Susumu (Tokyo: Jinbun Shoin, 2003). (Note that Izutani Susumu was the Sinified name that Ishihara Minoru chose for himself after the invasion of Manchuria when many students were making these names up for themselves [Tezuka, *Boku no manga jinsei*, 49]). Tezuka later writes that his namesake, the carabid beetle, which has 600 species in Japan and more than 20,000 worldwide, was just like him with its skinny neck and tendency to wander about at night ("Boku no konchūki: Part 1," first published in *Tetsuwan Atomu kurabu* [December 1964], and collected in Kobayashi Junji, ed. *Tezuka Osamu no konchū hakurankai* [Tokyo: Isoppusha, 1998], 90).

2. Osamu written as 治 is pronounced the same with or without the added 虫. Ishihara Minoru definitively introduced Tezuka to the wonderful world of bug-collecting. Kobayashi Junji, a fellow insect enthusiast who also worked as an animator at Tezuka's Mushi Pro, has compiled several volumes that collect Tezuka's early notes and realistic renderings of insects from his school days. Kobayashi's edited volumes include *Tezuka Osamu no konchū hakurankai* and *Tezuka Osamu: Konchū zukan* (Tezuka Osamu's illustrated guide to insects) (Tokyo: Kodansha Plus-Alpha Bunko, 1997 [1992]). Tezuka's early writings and drawings from 1943–44 at Osaka Prefecture's Kitano Middle School are also reproduced, updated to modern kanji, and occasionally excerpted and annotated in *Tezuka Osamu, Konchū Tsurezuregusa* (Random scribblings about insects) (Tokyo: Shogakkan Bunko, 2001). This also includes early manga works and essays about insects.

3. Kobayashi, *Tezuka Osamu no konchū hakurankai*, 2.

4. Okumoto Daisaburō, *Hakubutsugaku no kyojin: Anri Faaburu* (Giant of natural history: Henri Fabre) (Tokyo: Shūeisha Shinsho, 1999), 24.

5. To this day, Fabre and his *Konchūki* are household words in Japan. Tokyo is the only place in the world outside of France with a museum dedicated to him. Dubbed in Provençal, L'Oustal del Félibre di Tavan (in Japanese, Mushi no shijin no kan [The bug poet's museum]), the Fabre insect museum celebrates equally insects and literature as Fabre's legacy, and is curated by French literature expert and entomologist, Okumoto Daisaburō. Tezuka had read and appreciated Fabre and, according to Okumoto, also wanted to make *Konchūki* into an anime along the lines of Disney's *Fantasia* with music by Tchaikovsky, but the project never materialized.

6. Okumoto, *Hakubutsugaku no kyojin*, 24–32. Socialist and anarchist Osugi was also a translator of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859) in 1914. He, his nephew, and his lover, feminist, and fellow intellectual, Itō Noe, were murdered at the hands of the police in the confusion that provided cover for crimes against activists, political dissidents, and Koreans in the wake of the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923.

7. Kobayashi, *Tezuka Osamu no konchū hakurankai*, 7–19. The second manga in this collection also indicates its source in Fabre: "*Faaburu Ojisan no mushi monogatari: karyudobachi no ohanashi*" (Uncle Fabre's bug tale: the story of the hunter bee), 20–27. The insect stories are submitted to an entomological science checkup by Kobayashi, as he explains the real insects behind the fictional ones Tezuka created.

8. Miramax French film *Microcosmos* (1996), written and directed by Claude Nuridsany and Marie Pérennou, portrays a wonderful sequence with a dung beetle as it undertakes in a Chaplin-esque manner its Sisyphean task (often excerpted and available on YouTube).

9. Literally "My Book of Insects," but I rather willfully translate it this way to site it between Tezuka's autobiography title, *My Manga Life,* and the target of this essay's discussion, *The Book of Human Insects.* These essays were serialized in *Tetsuwan Atomu Kurabu* (Astro Boy Club).

10. In Tezuka's own words: "Desukara tamaoshi kogane wa, mukashi, umarekawaru chikara no aru fushigi na mushi toshite, sugoku tōtobaremashita" (Kobayashi, *Tezuka Osamu no konchū hakurankan,* 91).

11. Various sources also suggest that the Egyptians saw the dung beetle as sacred because it seemed to have the power of parthenogenesis, giving birth to itself.

12. This work originally appeared in 1978 as "Manbō pajama taidan" (Manbō pajama dialogue) and is collected in dialogue format as "Onna wa totsuzen henshin suru" (Women suddenly transform) in *Mushirareppanashi* (Talking about bugs and stuff) (Tokyo: Shio Shuppansha, 1981). Author Kita Morio shares Tezuka's love of insects and collecting, as evidenced in his well-known collection of essays *Dokutoru Manbō konchūki* (1961, Doctor Manbo's insect stories). He also shares with Tezuka a pen name—his real name was Saito Sōkichi—and training as a medical doctor and psychologist. Just before he passed away in the fall of 2011, a new species of beetle discovered by his entomologist friend Hirasawa Tomoaki was named after him: *manbō biidorokogane* or, in Latin, *Eumaladera kitamorioi,* a manbō gold beetle.

13. C. J. Suzuki, in "Learning from Monsters: Mizuki Shigeru's Yokai and War Manga," *Image & Narrative* 12, no. 1 (2011), contends that Mizuki alone rivaled Tezuka in the production of *yōkai* that produce an "insectile feeling."

14. *Kami no toriide* (1974, *Shūkan Shōnen King*) and *ZEPHYRUS* (1971, *Shūkan Shōnen Sandee*), both collected in Tezuka Osamu, *Sensō Manga: Kessakusen* (War manga: Masterpieces) (Tokyo: Shōdensha, 2007), 5–44 and 177–216, respectively.

15. Tezuka Osamu, *Ningen Konchūki* (Tokyo: Akita Shoten, 1995); translated as *The Book of Human Insects* (New York: Vertical, 2011). It was originally serialized in 1970 and 1971 in *Play Comic,* a manga magazine aimed at young men. The translation uses some awkward slang expressions ("No biggie," 343, or "my bad," 308) that are anachronistic and off-key for Toshiko. Other translation choices are a matter of interpretation, as with the final lines and the use of terms for *insect.* See my translations of the final lines at this essay's conclusion. An instance of the latter is Hachisuka calling Aokusa a "bug," which sounds cute rather than disparaging in its context (32, 43).

16. The very mention evokes Teshigahara's wonderful film based on Abe Kōbō's novel *The Woman in the Dunes* (1964), where an entomologist out hunting insects ends up himself caught in the hole of the titular "woman in the dunes," a human "ant lion."

17. Lafcadio Hearn's *Japanese Miscellany* (1901) mentions the earliest source for insects in Japanese culture: the ancient *Chronicles of Japan* (720, *Nihon Shoki*) reports that the legendary first Emperor Jimmu ascended to a mountain summit overlooking the Yamato plain and saw that it took the shape of a dragonfly. Later, the Imperial poetry anthologies include the story of Emperor Yūryaku who, having been bitten by a gadfly (*abu*), watches as a dragonfly swoops in to make the gadfly its meal in turn. Moved, Emperor Yūryaku composes a poem to dragonflies that echoes Emperor Jimmu's anointing of Japan, Akitsushima, or "The Island of Dragonflies": "Even a creeping insect / Waits upon the Great Lord: / Thy form it will bear, / O Yamato, land of the dragon-fly!" In true *Nippon*

konchūki fashion, the country of Japan and insects are inextricable signifiers from the earliest of Japan's origin stories passed down even today.

18. A double meaning operates here, of course. We see the psychological and emotional emptiness of Toshiko/Japan as she sacrifices everything for success only to have nothing that matters to her when she achieves it ("it's lonely at the top," indeed). But as an insect woman, she is also literally an empty shell capacious enough to assume any new role she must play.

19. When Toshiko first mentions her urge to go to Greece, it is to Hachisuka, in this way: "Let's see . . . I'm actually rather fond of Greece. The way it's been ever so in decline, barely scraping by on tourist money" (141). Civilization, in short, has been reduced to global capitalism's commodity.

20. Nakano Haruyuki, *Sou datta no ka, Tezuka Osamu: Tensai ga minuiteita Nihonjin no honshitsu* (Is that right, Tezuka Osamu? A genius sees through to the truth of the Japanese) (Tokyo: Shindensha, 2005), 152–65. Nakano cites in full Tezuka's "Afterword" from the *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū* (160).

21. In making Toshiko an insect woman, he does not vilify the insect, just as the target of Karel and Josef Čapek's 1922 satire *The Insect Play* (a work much admired by Tezuka) is not the insect. The play's parenthetical subtitle, "And so *ad infinitum*," is derived from the Jonathan Swift poem, "On Poetry: A Rhapsody," excerpted on the play's title page.

22. See the *taidan* discussion between Kita Morio and Tezuka, *Mushirareppanashi,* 65–66.

23. These drawings by Tezuka and Kobayashi, respectively, are included in Kobayashi Junji, *Tezuka Osamu no konchū hakurankai,* 84, 89. *Yoromeki dōbutsuki,* in Kobayashi Junji, *Tezuka Osamu no konchū hakurankai,* 84–85 (originally published in *Sunday Mainichi,* 1964–65).

24. Tezuka Rumiko, ed. *Tezuka Osamu: Eros 1000 peeji* (Tokyo: INFAS Publications, 2010).

25. The fable's opening parallels the suicide opening pages of *Human Insects.*

26. Kobayashi Junji, *Tezuka Osamu no konchū hakurankai,* 74.

27. See Jan Bardsley's excellent essay, "Discourse on Women in Postwar Japan: The Housewife Debate of 1955," *U.S.–Japan Women's Journal* [English Supplement] 16 (1999): 3–47. Bardsley focuses on 1955, the inaugural year of the debates and just when Tezuka published his short manga in September. Made up of thirty-three essays published in *Fujin Kōron* [Women's review], they lasted until 1976.

28. For two good sources on the history of modern feminism in survey and for more local social movements, see Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment, and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), and Sandra Buckley, *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

29. Fujimoto Yukari contends that alter egos in shōjo manga, be they same sex or opposite sex, often overlap with the categories androgynous, hermaphroditic, or polysexual, and that this all began with Tezuka's *Princess Knight* and the Takarazuka Revue. Polymorphously perverse sexual trysts and cross-dressing scenes are everywhere in Tezuka's works, and most critics intone Fujimoto's insight that they were inspired by the performances of women dressed for both male and female roles in the all-female Revue. Tezuka knew personally Takarazuka Revue performers, using them as models for numerous characters, male

and female. See Fujimoto Yukari, "*Bunshin – shōjo manga no naka no 'mou hitori no watashi'*" (Alter egos: "My other self" in shōjo manga), Miyahara Kojirō, Ogino Masahiro, eds. *Manga no shakaigaku* (Manga sociology) (Tokyo: Sekai shisōsha, 2009): 68–131.

30. I.L. is a Pygmalion-esque invention of man in female form, endowed with the ability to transform and mimic whatever or whomever is requested of her. Here, she is the hybrid poisonous moth/vengeful wife of the husband who had tried to kill his wife earlier with poisonous moths: "What's the matter? You like moths, don't you?" Tezuka Osamu, "The Moth" [*Ga*], *I.L.*, Vol. 1. Tezuka Osamu Manga Zenshū 262 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1982/2001), 47.

31. Of course, Braidotti, too, would connect these concepts, just not to the Japanese literary and historical context as I do here. Rosi Braidotti, *Metamorphoses: Towards a Materialist Theory of Becoming* (Malden, Mass.: Polity Press/Blackwell Publishers, 2002): 149.

32. Braidotti, *Metamorphoses*, as cited in Jussi Parikka, *Insect Media: An Archaeology of Animals and Technology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

33. Parikka reminds us that in *A Thousand Plateaus,* Deleuze and Guattari's famous example of "becoming-animal" is told as a story of a wasp and an orchid, where "the reality of the becomings is not constituted in the terms that are connected—for example, those of man becoming animal. Instead, what is real is the process of becoming itself, which 'lacks a subject distinct from itself.' Becoming-animal is a process of creative involution that proceeds by alliances and the new assemblages produced by the pairings" (245, note 26).

34. Tezuka Osamu and Kobayashi Junji, *Tezuka Osamu: konchū zukan*, 256–82.

35. Ibid., 156.

36. Ishigami Mitsutoshi, "Konchūgakuteki joseiron josetsu" (1977, Introduction to female insect discourse), in *Manga hihyō taikei bekkan, ed.* Takeuchi Osamu and Murakami Tomohiko, 150–61 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989).

37. Ono Akira, *Tezuka Osamu: "henyō" to "ikei"* (Tezuka Osamu: "transformation" and "mutation") (Tokyo: Kanrin Shobō, 2000).

38. Kita Morio and Tezuka, *Mushirareppanashi,* 50.

39. Tezuka Osamu, *Chiteikoku no kaijin* (1948; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1982); *Ari to kyōjin*, in *Tezuka Osamu Manga Zenshū* 72 (1972; Tokyo: Kodansha, 2010); *Chikyū o nomu,* (1968; Tokyo: Shogakkan Bunko, 2009).

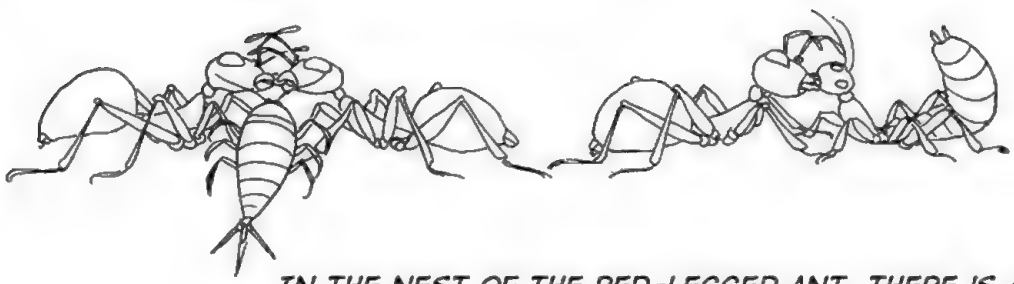
40. Kita Morio and Tezuka, *Mushirareppanashi,* 57–58. Tezuka also discusses this in strictly insect terms without reference to his creative process in "Tezuka Osamu, *Konchū o kataru,*" in Kobayashi Junji, *Tezuka Osamu no konchū hakurankai,* 95.

41. Cited in note 49 to her essay, Jan Bardsley sums up Mochizuki's concerns: "Mochizuki imagines that men are dressing in a distinctly feminine way and do not realize that the fashions they think so wonderfully American are in fact those of gay American men. In case the reader has any doubts here, Mochizuki uses the Japanese term for homosexuality (*dōseiai*) and follows this with *gei boi* ("gay boy") in the katakana syllabary. Mochizuki also states his belief that Japanese men lost faith in their masculinity and in their superiority to Japanese women because of the Occupation experience" (Bardsley, "Discourse on Women in Postwar Japan," 44). Mochizuki Mamoru, "The Sociology of M and W" (*"M to W no shakaigaku"), Fujin Kōron,* September 1955: 152–55.

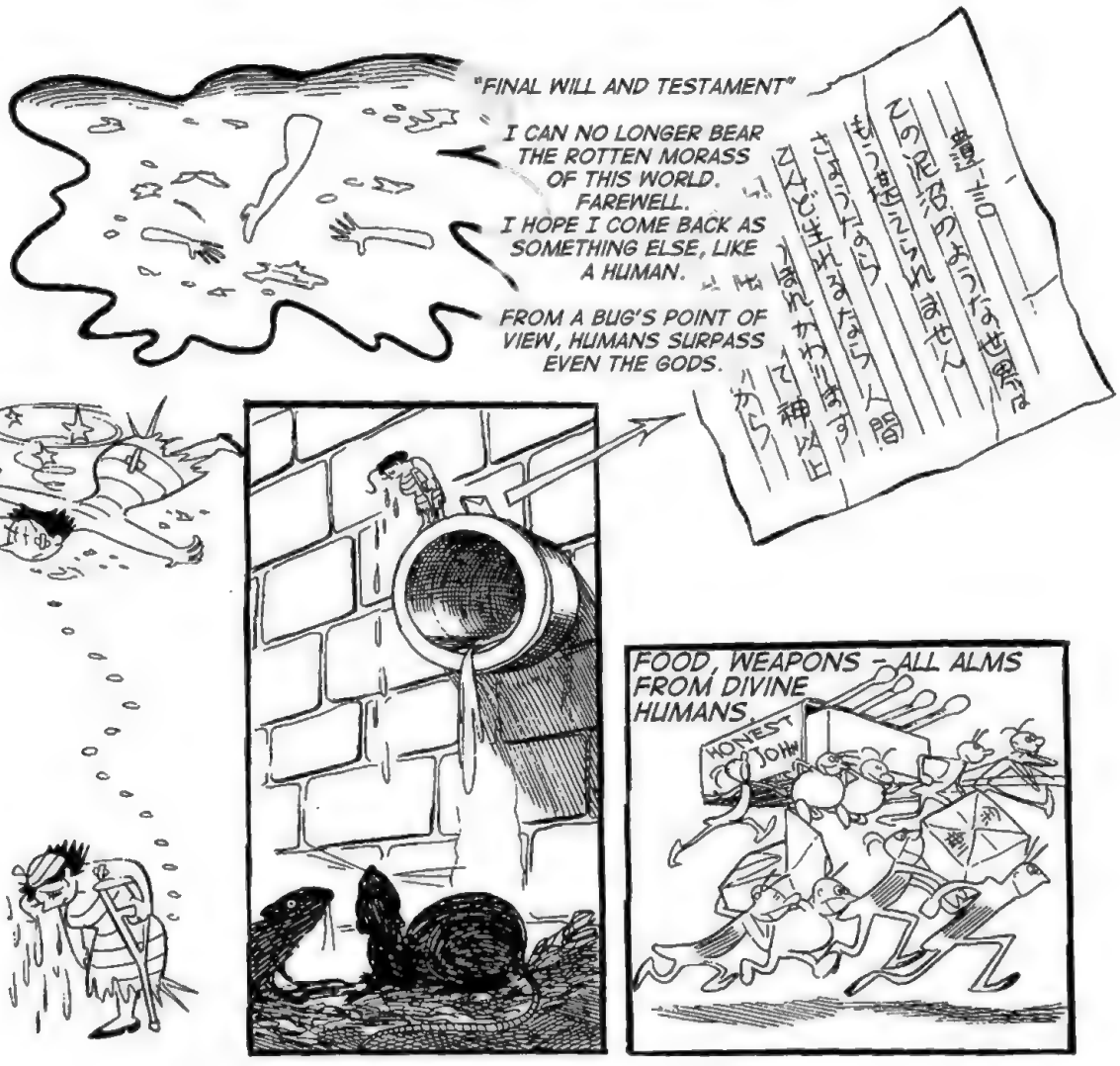
DIARY OF AN INSECT SHŌJO'S VAGABOND LIFE

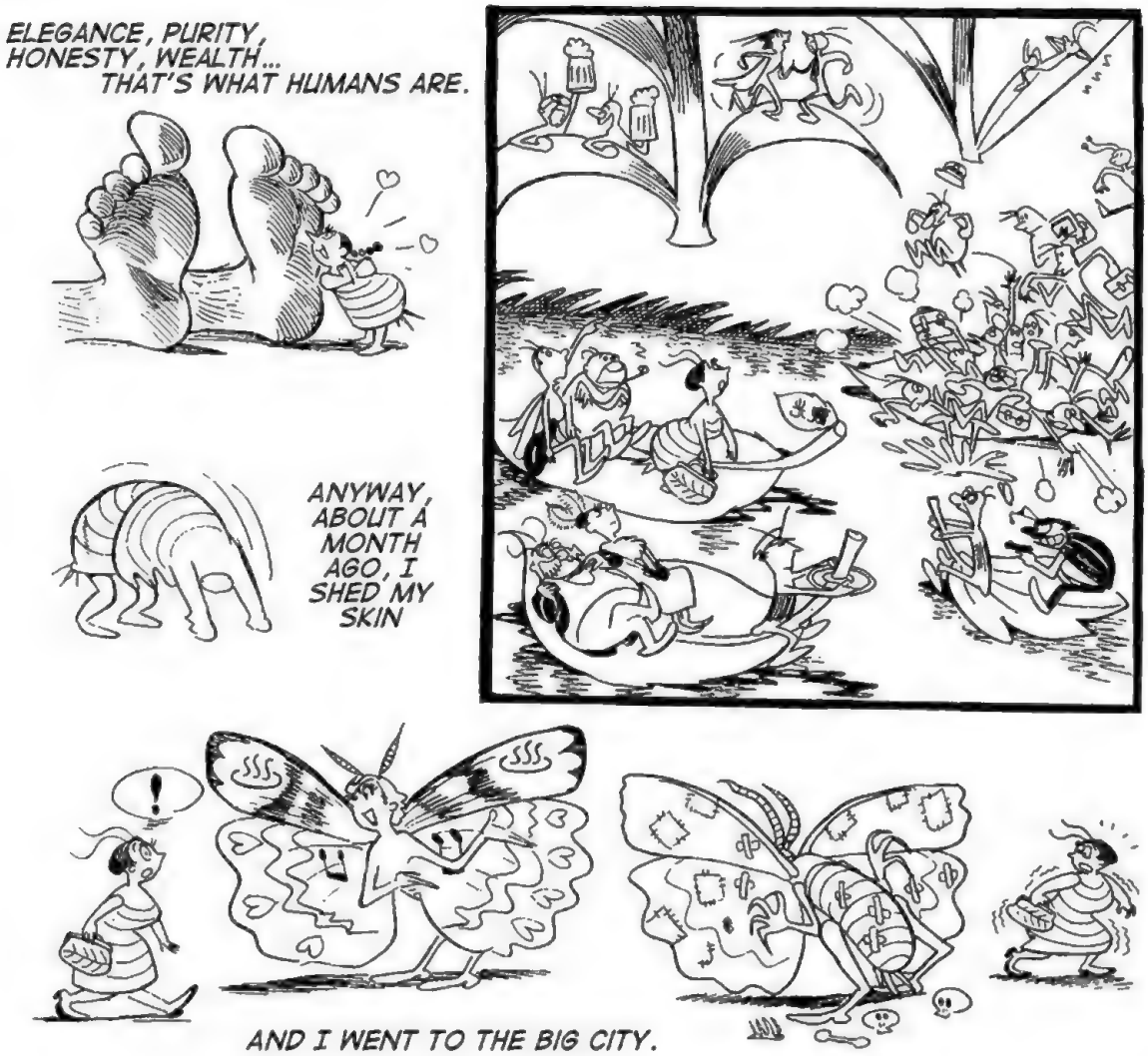
TEZUKA OSAMU

Translated by Mary A. Knighton

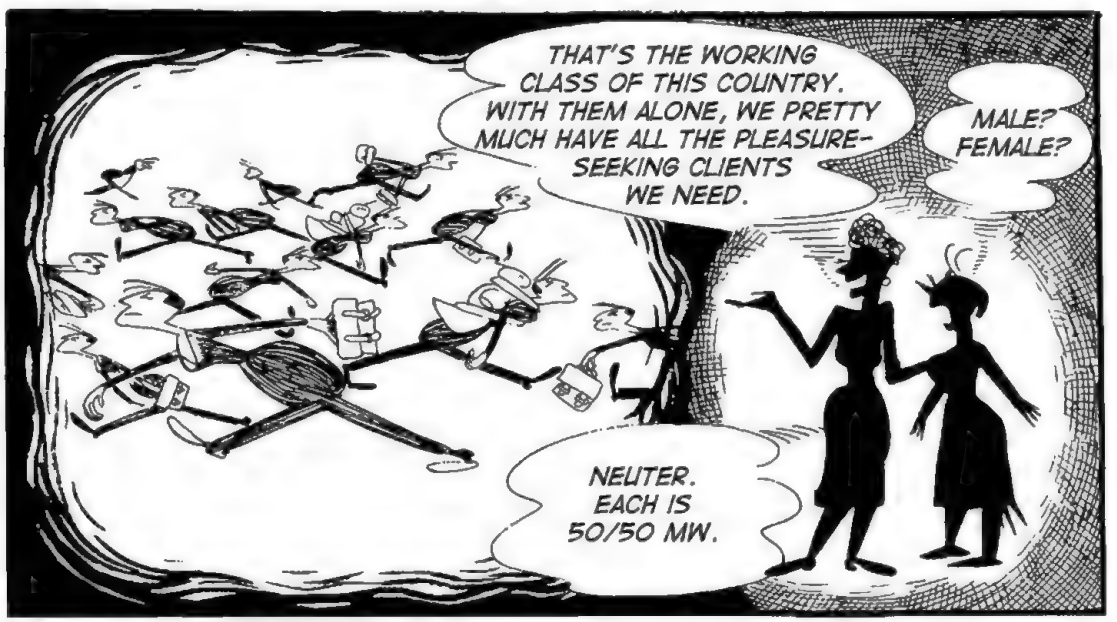


IN THE NEST OF THE RED-LEGGED ANT, THERE IS A STRANGE BEDFELLOW. IT SECRETES AN ELIXIR FROM OUT OF ITS OWN BODY THAT THE ANT LIKES TO DRINK, AND IN EXCHANGE, THE ANT BRINGS IT FOOD. THE FOLLOWING STORY IS, WE MIGHT SAY, SUCH A TALE.


"FINAL WILL AND TESTAMENT"
I CAN NO LONGER BEAR THE ROTTEN MORASS OF THIS WORLD. FAREWELL. I HOPE I COME BACK AS SOMETHING ELSE, LIKE A HUMAN.
FROM A BUG'S POINT OF VIEW, HUMANS SURPASS EVEN THE GODS.
FOOD, WEAPONS - ALL ALMS FROM DIVINE HUMANS
HONEST JOHN

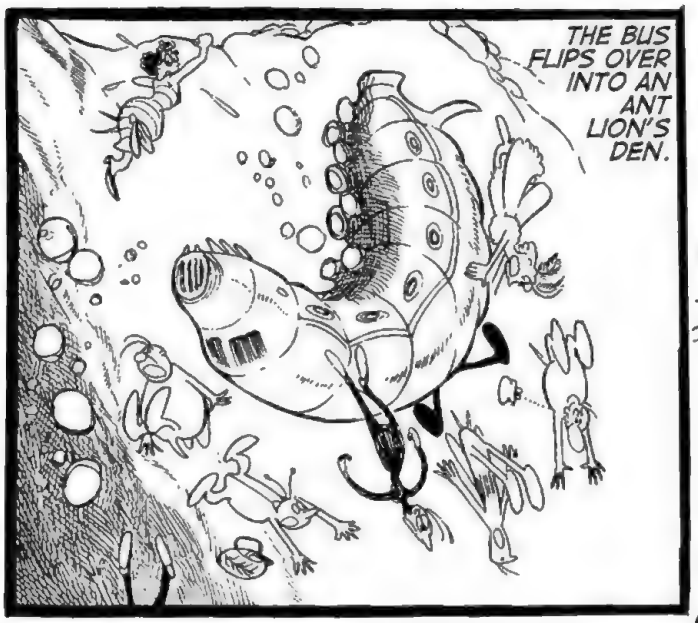

ELEGANCE, PURITY, HONESTY, WEALTH... THAT'S WHAT HUMANS ARE.
ANYWAY, ABOUT A MONTH AGO, I SHED MY SKIN
!
AND I WENT TO THE BIG CITY.
1, 2, 3...8
!
A SPIDER!

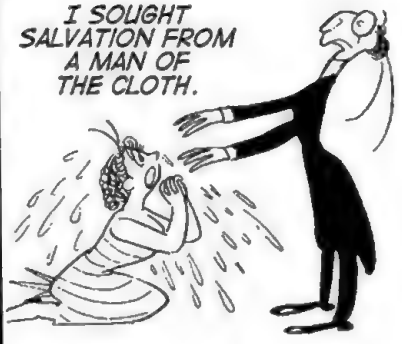
DIET BUILDING
HMPH. YOU SHOULD BE FULL OF THE JUICE!
SHE'S NEW HERE. GET HER UP TO SPEED.
I'VE COME WITH A LETTER OF REFERENCE.
OH! YOU MUST BE SHIMIKO.

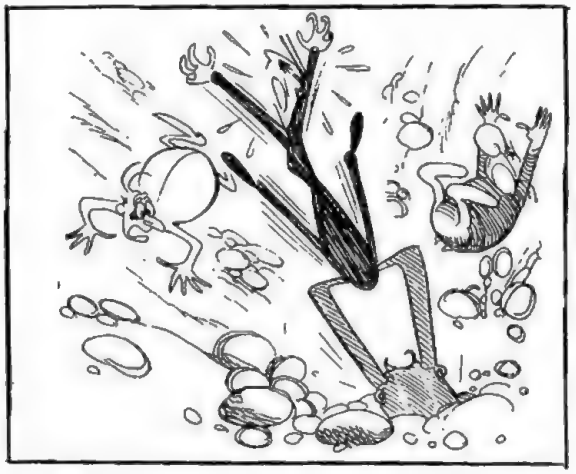

THAT'S THE WORKING CLASS OF THIS COUNTRY. WITH THEM ALONE, WE PRETTY MUCH HAVE ALL THE PLEASURE-SEEKING CLIENTS WE NEED.
MALE? FEMALE?
NEUTER. EACH IS 50/50 MW.

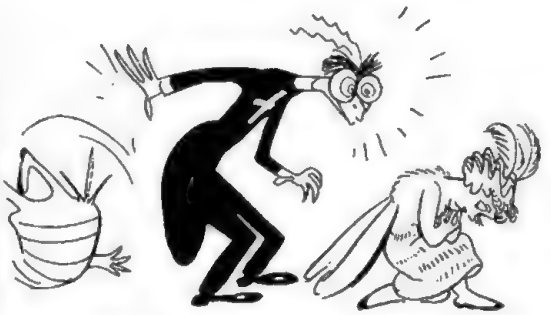
WE LET THEM SUCK UP THE JUICES WE PUT OUT, AND THEY OPEN UP TO US THEIR PURSE STRINGS!
NO WAY!

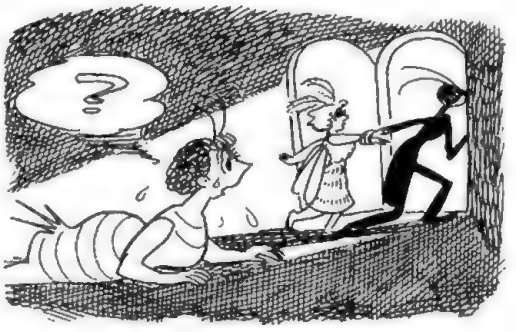
SUCH AN INNOCENT.
I'M GOING TO HAVE A LITTLE TASTE.
NO PROBLEM. JUST KEEP IT UP...
AND YOU'LL SQUEEZE OUR CLIENTS FOR ALL THEY'RE WORTH!
NO MATTER HOW HARD I SQUEEZE, I CAN'T GET ANY-THING OUT OF HIM!
BIG TROUBLE! THE CORRUPTION HAS BEEN EXPOSED!
MY CLIENTS WERE THE CIVIL SERVANTS IN THE FOOD SUPPLY AGENCY
IF WE'RE CAUGHT, WE'LL BE EXECUTED BEFORE THE QUEEN. LET'S ESCAPE TOGETHER.


THE BUS FLIPS OVER INTO AN ANT LION'S DEN.


I SOUGHT SALVATION FROM A MAN OF THE CLOTH.



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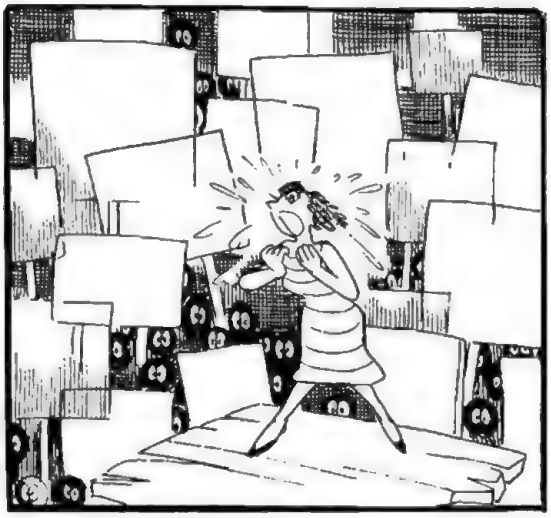
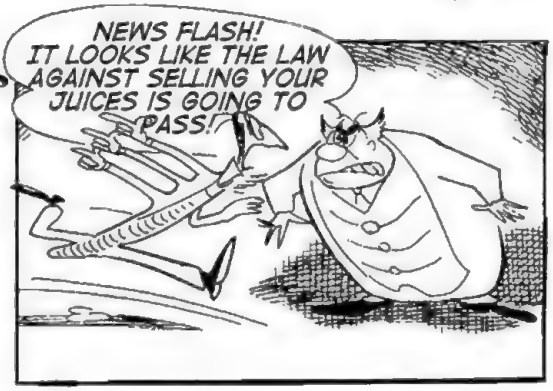
昆光教



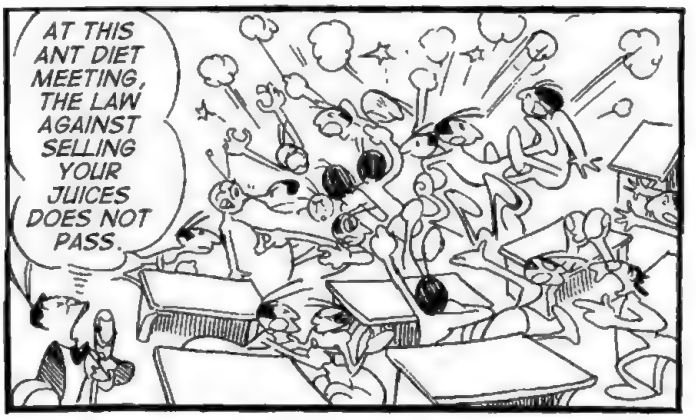
DAMN! I'LL BE DAMNED IF SHE ISN'T A POISON MOTH!

AGH! MY OLD LADY!

HOLD IT-!


NEWS FLASH! IT LOOKS LIKE THE LAW AGAINST SELLING YOUR JUICES IS GOING TO PASS!

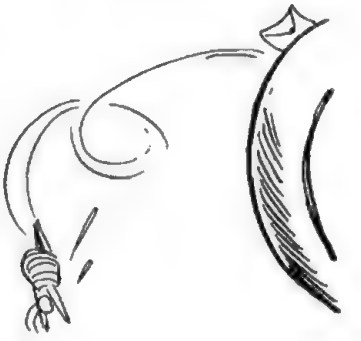
NO NEED TO FRET! THOSE DIET MEMBERS HAVE LONG SUCKED OUR DELICIOUS JUICES, AND US THEIRS.

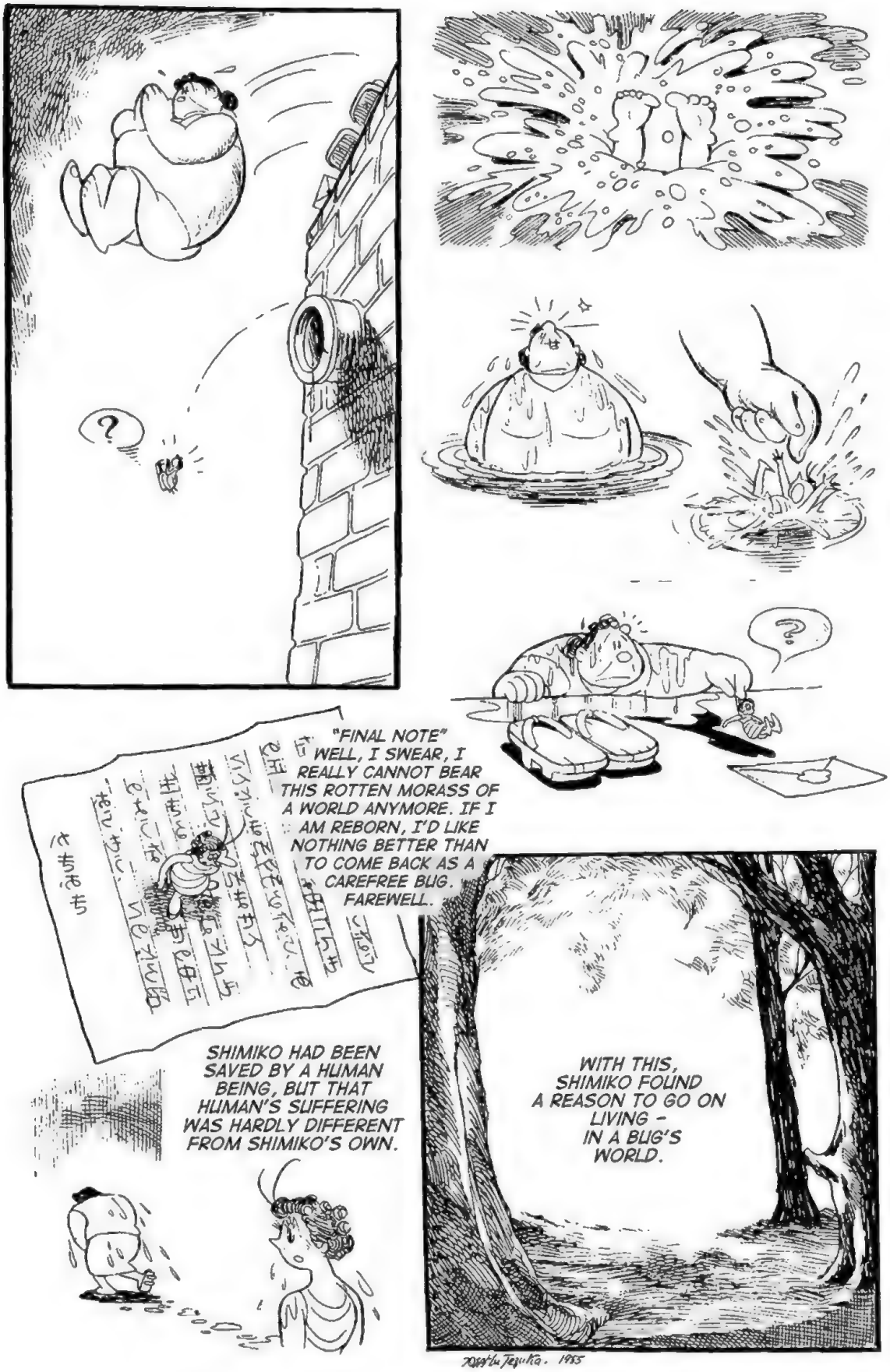

AT THIS ANT DIET MEETING, THE LAW AGAINST SELLING YOUR JUICES DOES NOT PASS.

IF I GET MY HANDS ON THAT SHIMIKO!

D·D·T

DEAR GOD, PLEASE BE BY MY SIDE... AT LEAST, GUIDE ME TO THE SIDE OF THOSE HUMANS.

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"FINAL NOTE"
WELL, I SWEAR, I REALLY CANNOT BEAR THIS ROTTEN MORASS OF A WORLD ANYMORE. IF I AM REBORN, I'D LIKE NOTHING BETTER THAN TO COME BACK AS A CAREFREE BUG. FAREWELL.
SHIMIKO HAD BEEN SAVED BY A HUMAN BEING, BUT THAT HUMAN'S SUFFERING WAS HARDLY DIFFERENT FROM SHIMIKO'S OWN.
WITH THIS, SHIMIKO FOUND A REASON TO GO ON LIVING – IN A BUG'S WORLD.
Osamu Tezuka · 1983

G. CLINTON GODART

Tezuka Osamu's Circle of Life: Vitalism, Evolution, and Buddhism

On October 31, 1988, Tezuka gave a speech at his old school in Osaka for an audience of 1400 students. At this point, Tezuka had already been diagnosed with cancer, of which he would die less than two months later. On stage, he drew on a large sheet of paper several characters that appear in his manga and explained his ideas about them. About the Phoenix, the symbolic character of the manga with that title, he said that it symbolized life (*seimei*) itself, and he believed "it is something cosmical." In the manga, on several occasions, the Phoenix is flying in space and at times seems to be one with the cosmos itself. Tezuka continued: "This character, Phoenix, possesses eternal life. And this life, this cosmos, pervades everything, and everything has this power of life (*seimeiryoku*): the earth, the sun, all have this life power. Everything is alive."[1] Tezuka's last message to the next generation was to respect life.

One welcome development in Japanese studies in recent years has been the recognition that manga and anime have to be taken seriously as important sites and media for the production and dissemination of culture. In the rise of manga and anime studies, much emphasis has been placed on Tezuka Osamu as the pioneer and "God of Manga." Manga and anime studies, being a young discipline, has initially tended to overemphasize somewhat the pioneering

role of Tezuka Osamu but has since moved to place his work in a longer and more complex history of the development of manga. It is indeed important not to treat Tezuka Osamu's manga, similar to any creative figure in any genre, as *sui generis*, but what about the interactions between manga and other genres, such as philosophy, religion, and intellectual history? How can we understand Tezuka Osamu as a player in the intellectual history of Japan? Attention to the theme of life in Tezuka's work can provide some answers.

TEZUKA OSAMU'S CONCEPTUALIZATION OF LIFE SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD WITHIN A LARGER HISTORY OF JAPANESE TRANS-WAR INTELLECTUAL HISTORY AND IS A FOCAL POINT WHERE THEMES IN SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, AND RELIGION CONVERGE.

Tezuka himself described life (*seimei*, a term that refers to life as such, distinct from the life of an individual as in his or her "life," expressed in Japanese as *jinsei*), as symbolized by the Phoenix, as the central theme of all his work, taking many forms, such as the connections and comparisons between human and animal life, warnings against war, and the depictions of the complexities of medical intervention in life. Hence it is worth looking for the origins and environment of Tezuka's conception of life and its evolution. This inquiry will show that, although Tezuka's ideas were formed by experiences in his own life, his ideas are also to a large degree embedded in a wider intellectual history. Tezuka Osamu's conceptualization of life should be understood within a larger history of Japanese trans-war intellectual history and is a focal point where themes in science, philosophy, and religion converge. In this essay, I will focus in particular on how this conceptualization of life was formed through an interaction among ideas of Buddhism, evolutionary theory, and vitalism. This essay will also confirm that manga and anime are important media in the construction and dissemination of philosophical ideas concerning society, religion, and science, especially in postwar Japan.

In his autobiography, *Boku no manga jinsei* (1997, My manga life), and in several lectures, Tezuka described how experiences in his early life and adolescence led him to find life as the leading theme of his work.[2] Bullied in primary school, Tezuka found solace in reading about biology and collecting insects. He made many studies of animals, especially insects. "Osamu" was his real name, but he changed the way he wrote it in Japanese by adding the character for "insect." According to Tezuka's own story, what first opened his eyes to the theme of life were two dramatic experiences in adolescence. First, Tezuka experienced the devastating B-29 firebombing raids on Osaka, which left a lasting impact on his mind. It might be added that, while the atomic bombs have become the symbols of war trauma in postwar Japan, the firebombing

was experienced by many more people, and although the atomic bombs are popularly considered the finale in the Asia-Pacific War, Osaka was bombed conventionally even after the nuclear attacks. Tezuka particularly remembered the great firebombing of Osaka in June 1945. When he approached the Yodogawa River, he saw an immense number of burned bodies floating in it: "It was the greatest shock in my life, and writing for forty years did not heal this."[3] One message Tezuka wanted to convey in his work was the horror and futility of war, and its potential to destroy life.

The second experience was during his training as a doctor at Osaka University, when he witnessed a patient dying. Tezuka came from a family with a long tradition of physicians, and this heritage and his own experiences found its way into the series *Black Jack* (1973–83, *Burakku Jakku*), which displayed a form of existentialism that comes out masterfully in the life-and-death choices the characters are forced to make. Tezuka's existentialism was amplified and heightened by his physician's knowledge and the profound embodied existence of the human subject. Tezuka remembered the dying patient as suddenly wearing a most beautiful and peaceful expression on his face, "like a Buddha."[4] This, he said, led to a larger realization: "There is something like a large lifeforce (*seimeiryoku*), and what resides in the human body is just one small part, one instant of this. Doesn't the soul, or better, the life-body (*seimeitai*) leave the human body and go somewhere? Doesn't it begin a new life? That is really what I thought. I don't know if this is correct. But there, much more than before, I felt directly the mystery of life."[5] These two experiences led Tezuka to write manga about this "lifeforce."[6]

Tezuka's own account of the experiences surrounding the bombing of Osaka and his life as a manga artist give the impression that the discovery of life as a theme in his work was solely an attempt to overcome this trauma and to explore and transmit the lessons from these two experiences. There is no reason to doubt Tezuka's account, but we should remember that his story was also carefully crafted. His description of these two experiences of human suffering and death, and his realization of a connection with and reincarnation to a larger existence bear more than a passing resemblance to Gautama Buddha's experience of suffering and later awakening. Tezuka later wrote a manga series on the life of the Buddha, which, similar to his own experience, depicts the Buddha as gaining an insight into the transmigration to—and from—a core of life at the center of reality. Tezuka's two experiences also express neatly his ideas about the nature of science and technology: the B-29 shows technology's potential to destroy life, and the hospital shows its ultimate impotence and inability to save us from death. Tezuka believed that technological

progress could not alter the fact that we humans do not transcend our animal and mortal nature, hence his work is pervaded with skepticism toward "civilization" (*bunmei*).[7] While not diminishing the impact of Tezuka's two life-changing events, his discovery of "life" was probably not only a product of pure experience. The religio-philosophical contents, and the language Tezuka used to express his ideas, were not only a direct product of trauma but can also be understood as part of a larger history of twentieth-century Japanese thinking about biology, life, and religion.

Let us look at these themes in more detail, starting with one of Tezuka's earlier works, *Metropolis* (1949, *Metoroporisu*). This story of creation of an artificial lifeform and consequences of that experiment clearly shows Tezuka's skepticism of progress through technological change. The warnings about science and technology in *Metropolis*, which have since become common tropes, perhaps show Tezuka's prescience, especially in his explorations of the possibly fluid boundaries between humans and robots. The story opens with an account of evolution by Dr. Bell, who maintains that, throughout evolution, certain species developed features that allowed them dominance but also caused their demise: the mammoth "became too advanced, and in actuality, as a result, they too, died out." Dr. Bell thinks that humans might follow the same pattern:

> Tens of thousands of years passed . . . in their place, animals, today called humans, began to conquer the land. Humans had one weapon—brain power—of which nothing was more advanced. And so, finally, human civilization reached its summit. However, might the day not come when humans also become too advanced and, as a result of their science, wipe themselves out?[8]

The message is repeated at the end of the story. The idea that, through technology, humanity has dug its own grave has of course been explored many times, but looking at it in the context of Japanese approaches to evolution, we can see that Tezuka's critical view of technological progress was probably not only a direct product of his experience of war. Unknown to the casual and English-speaking reader, Tezuka's theory has special relevance in Japan, as it is almost identical to the ideas of human evolution put forth by the biologist Oka Asajirō.

From the first publication of his *Shinkaron kōwa* (Lectures on evolutionary theory) in 1904, Oka Asajirō (1866–1944) was the bestselling biologist in prewar Japan, and he inspired a variety of thinkers, such as the anarchist Ōsugi Sakae (1885–1923), philosophers such as Miki Kiyoshi (1897–1945)

and Tsurumi Shunsuke (b. 1922), and given the similarities with his own work, it is unlikely that Tezuka had never heard of him.[9] Oka, like Dr. Bell in *Metropolis*—basing himself more on the theory of orthogenesis than on natural selection—argued that every dominant lifeform developed features that, while initially beneficial, eventually overdevelop and become the very cause of its extinction. Oka predicted that, in the case of humans, it was bipedalism (the free use of hands) and intelligence that allowed for the eventual development of technology and civilization that allowed us to possess this paradoxical evolutionary power. Oka also warned of Nature possibly taking "revenge" against humans for the changes inflicted on her.

In this way, Oka Asajirō used evolutionary theory as a counterpoint to the Meiji ideology of "progress and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*). Despite the more familiar association of evolutionary theory with the ideology of modernization, expressed in the very translation of the term "evolution" into, literally, "progressive change" (*shinka*), the idea that biological and social evolution leads to inevitable retrogression and decline was widespread among intellectual circles in Japan since the late Meiji period. This was often inspired by Buddhist ideas of evanescence and decline but also by scientific theories such as that of cosmic evolution as developing from and returning to the nebular (based on the Kant-Laplace hypothesis). Many Japanese intellectuals argued that evolution was not really "progressive change," since it was always accompanied, or inevitably followed, by "retrogression" or "devolution" (*taika*). Buddhist thinkers and philosophers, who were inspired by the ancient theory of Buddhist decline (*mappō*) and who questioned the idea of continuing "progressive change," emphasized inevitable retrogression.

These religious and philosophical receptions of evolution resonate strongly in Tezuka's works. Nowhere does this come to the fore more clearly than in *Phoenix* (*Hi no tori*), his magnum opus on which he worked intermittently from 1954 to 1989 but unfortunately never finished.[10] As already mentioned, the central figure of the Phoenix was the symbol of the cosmic lifeforce itself and expressed Tezuka's most deeply held and ambitious philosophical beliefs.

Let us have a closer look at *Phoenix*. The series has a complex configuration of time, with the first volume beginning at the dawn of history, the second taking place in a far distant future, then alternating between past and future, drawing ever closer to the present. Different characters come and go and are connected through rebirth. The character who keeps the entire manga together is the Phoenix—truly a powerful symbol. Of the Phoenix it is said that if one drinks its blood, one attains eternal life. The tragedy of the

stories is the lengths to which various characters go in their vain attempts to attain this eternal life, destroying others and themselves in the process, only to be reborn again. Tezuka shows how technology impacts human lives (as in *Metropolis* the theme of self-destruction appears again, this time in the form of an ultimate nuclear war), while the Phoenix and the basic facts of human life and strife remain unchanged. The Phoenix stands for life itself, which is one and eternal and united with the cosmos. Humans partake in this life, through transmigration in eternity but are all too often unaware of it, vainly and paradoxically seeking eternal life by attempting to kill the Phoenix. The fundamental and universal fear of death, the vain attempts to overcome death (such as through medicine and technology), all the while partaking in a larger eternal cosmic life, is in fact, Tezuka Osamu tells us, the human condition.

Phoenix explores the same theme as announced in the beginning of *Metropolis,* but on a much larger scale. Evolution plays a prominent role in the series, especially in the beginning. The first cycle of the *Phoenix* consists of two interlocking stories, one at the beginning of Japanese history, the second in the thirty-fifth century—the end of the human race. The few remaining humans live in underground cities. The main character, Masato, flees with his love, Tamami, a "nupi," a kind of malleable organism that has taken the appearance of a human girl, to the earth's surface, which is now covered in the snow of a nuclear winter. They flee to the dome of Dr. Saruta, a scientist who is attempting a last-ditch effort to recreate the species on earth but cannot find the secret of life. Earlier, the Phoenix has appeared to Dr. Saruta to explain that the "earth is sick," and has to be healed. The earth, sun, stars, and planets, the entire universe, the Phoenix explains, is alive. It is a "cosmozone" (written with the compound "universe" and "life" [*uchū seimei*], accompanied by the furigana "*kosumozōn*"). The Phoenix explains that Saruta's scientific efforts are in vain, that the disease the cosmos is suffering from is humanity's civilization, and announces that a person will come to save the earth. A nuclear war erupts between the remaining metropolises, and all life, save for Masato, Saruta, one enemy of Masato, and Tamami, is wiped out. To simplify the story somewhat, everyone dies, except Masato. The Phoenix appears to him to show the true nature of the universe and tells him that he is assigned the task of the revitalization of the earth.

In a crucial passage that displays Tezuka's speculative vision of the "cosmozone," the Phoenix shows Masato the smallest elementary particle of the universe, which itself is structured like a solar system, and shows how at its nucleus is a living being. Going further into the cells of the organism, they again consist of particles. Then the Phoenix shows Masato the universe as a whole:

THAT THE PHOENIX SHOWS A BIOLOGICAL ORGANISM AT THE CENTER OF THE MATERIAL PARTICLES OUT OF WHICH THE UNIVERSE IS BUILT IS A CLEAR STATEMENT AGAINST PHYSICALIST REDUCTIONISM.

"Beyond the dimensions, the universe is not more than a particle. Universes assemble and form something similar to a cell. These cells assemble and form a 'living being.'" From the smallest to the largest, the universe is a living being, the "cosmozone."[11] The "disease" of the cosmos, the Phoenix explains, is the human race: "Having let the human race be born and evolve, this evolution has taken a mistaken course." Humanity has to go extinct and evolve once again. Masato realizes he has an immortal body and comes to understand it is his task to wait for and watch over the recurrence of the evolution of life on earth and the rebirth of humanity. Masato becomes "a 'being' who only watches over life that is slowly evolving;" his body disappears and he becomes a "supra-living body (*chō seimeitai*), transcending space and time."[12] As life evolves again, Masato is venerated and treated by the new species as "Creator" and "God," expressing Tezuka's critical view of organized religion. Eventually, the Phoenix appears again, and explains to Masato that he has become "the living universe, the cosmic life / cosmozone."[13] The Phoenix invites Masato to enter its body, which he does, and inside finds his old love Tamami and merges with her. The story then returns to the beginning, when a human attempts to kill the Phoenix. The Phoenix laments that every time humanity evolves, it evolves wrongly, always "further developing civilization (*bunmei*), eventually strangling himself with his own hands."[14] The cycle ends with the Phoenix expressing hope that perhaps this time when man evolves "he realizes his mistake and uses life correctly."[15]

In this story, we can discern several interlocking characteristics of Tezuka's concept of life in *Phoenix*. First, life is cosmic. That the phoenix shows a biological organism at the center of the material particles out of which the universe is built is a clear statement against physicalist reductionism. In other words, the universe itself is alive; life is not a by-product of a material and otherwise dead world of physics, consisting of lifeless material particles. Life is at the core of its being. Second, the universe is a *cosmos*: alive, and structured *organically*, not *mechanically*. Tezuka's universe is not a nineteenth-century machine but a living being. Further, the smallest particle is identical to the whole itself. Third, life evolves but does so in a circular way; after its destruction, life evolves again. Fourth, individual human lives partake in this larger cosmic life and after death transmigrate.

How can we understand this conception of life historically, especially in the intellectual history of Japan? Primarily, much of this narrative echoes

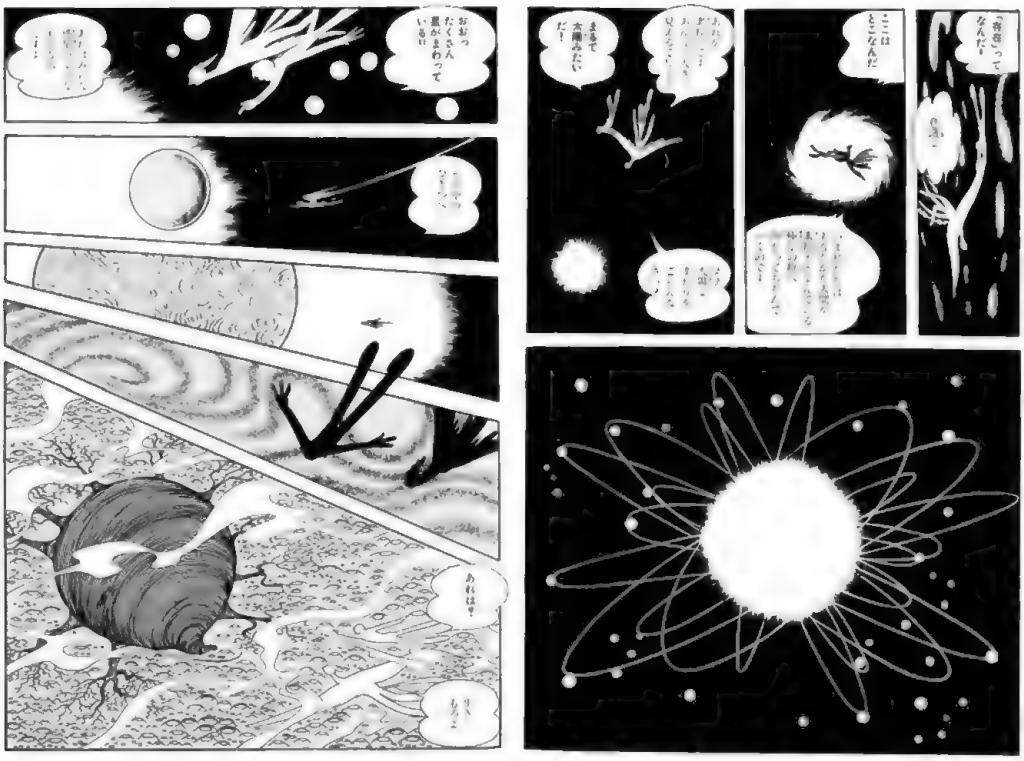


FIGURE 1. "The Phoenix shows Masato the life at the core of the particles of physical nature." Tezuka Osamu, *Hi no Tori* (Phoenix), vols. 201–12, 362–65 of *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū* (Complete manga works of Tezuka Osamu) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1987), 146–47. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

Buddhist cosmology, especially the idea that the smallest particle reveals or contains the whole (which can be found in the *Avatamsaka* or *Kegon sutra*), and transmigration theory. Tezuka Osamu, although critical of organized religion, was inspired by Buddhism, as can be seen in the *Buddha* series. In this work, Tezuka presents a more detailed vision of transmigration. The Buddha attains an insight into the nature of life as he follows the soul of a dying princess into the center of a cosmic life core, to which souls return and also from which souls are born again. However, Tezuka is not rehashing ancient Buddhist ideas. In conceptualizing his ideas, his choice of words is thoroughly modern and probably rooted in a larger history of Buddhist receptions of science and evolution in Japan.

In the Meiji period and afterward, Japan imported modern scientific thought on a large scale. There was no great "clash" between religion and evolution. However, while very few Japanese had problems with a view of nature as evolving, the idea of evolution raised the specter that life, mind, and morality had ultimately all emerged through a random process from material

building blocks and were therefore lifeless and perhaps meaningless. This went contrary to fundamental ideas of the nature of reality and life. The idea that nature consists of nothing more than physical building blocks and that evolution is a mindless, random process proved distinctly unpopular among many philosophical and religious circles in Japan. Among many intellectuals and religious figures, especially since the turn of the century, there was a marked opposition to the physicalist reductionism that seemed to be associated with evolutionary theory. This resistance to materialist metaphysics was due to the continuing influence in the modern period of the Buddhist idea that all of reality, sentient and nonsentient, possesses (or partakes in) the Buddha-nature (*hongaku shisō*), and of the Shinto idea of nature as being inhabited by manifold *kami*.

Hence, starting in the mid-Meiji period, Japanese intellectuals searched for ways to accommodate evolutionary theory within a nonmaterialist conception of nature. This was done through a revival of German Romanticism and idealism, as well as the revitalization of Buddhist theory. For example, one of the most important Buddhist thinkers who challenged the problem of evolution from a Buddhist perspective was Inoue Enryō (1858–1919). While Enryō fully accepted the theory of evolution and was keen to prove that Buddhism was compatible with it, he fought hard against the interpretation that accepting evolution meant embracing a materialist worldview. Enryō (and many of his contemporaries) favored a form of monism, coopted partly from German Romanticism, which held that mind could not be reduced to matter, and that mind and matter were like two sides of the same coin. In his 1897 *Against Materialism* (*Ha yuibutsuron*), Enryō proposed a view of evolution as emerging from a core of pure life-energy.

Tezuka Osamu's vision of evolution in a vitalist worldview, as put forward in *Phoenix* and *Buddha,* in which humans partake through transmigration, is remarkably close to Enryō's notion, especially as put forward in his *Reikon fumetsuron* (1899, On the indestructibility of the soul), a sister volume to *Against Materialism.*[16] In this work, Enryō described a universe that, at its core, is a life-energy source from which human souls emerge and return after death: "If you know that the cosmos is a living thing and a spirited body (*katsubutsu reitai*), and that it is endowed with the highest and greatest spirit, then one should not doubt that the spirit we have is completely one part or one particle of it."[17] And: "Looking at it from this perspective, there is no doubt that our death is the return home, return to the base, of a small spirit from the great spirit of the universe from which it has split off, the same as returning to one's hometown, not an extinction, but becoming the large and larger spirit

and continuing activity. Hence the spirit does not die."[18] Enryō explicitly uses evolutionary theory as proof that the world is "alive" and links evolution to transmigration.

Second, while Enryō was thoroughly a modernist, he and others after him questioned the idea of evolution as "progressive change" (*shinka*), arguing evolution encompassed both progression (*shinka*) and retrogression (*taika*). Inoue Enryō, just like Tezuka Osamu later, described a pattern of evolution and devolution. Evolution, according to Enryō, was not linear but circular.

I am unaware of any evidence that Tezuka Osamu read the work of Inoue Enryō, but the similarities are striking. Rather than a case of direct influence or coincidental discovery, the similarities between Inoue Enryō and Tezuka Osamu are perhaps better explained by the fact that the idea of evolution combined with vitalism and often transmigration have been very influential in Japan since the turn of the century and became a structural aspect in Japan's subsequent Taishō and Shōwa intellectual history. Similar ideas can be found in the writings of the bestselling writer Koizumi Yakumo (Lafcadio Hearn) (1850–1904), Minakata Kumagusu (1867–1941), and the journalist and philosopher Miyake Setsurei (1860–1945). The ideas of evolution as a circular pattern of a primordial life force, rather than a random progress starting from lifeless particles, became very influential. This culminated during the interwar period in philosophy, art, and literature, into a boom of "vitalism" (*seimei shugi*) as the idea of a larger cosmic life in which humans partake.[19] This trend seemed to be confirmed by trends in theoretical biology that posited that biological life could not be reduced or be explained by physics and chemistry alone. In philosophy, this trend is symbolic of the popularity of Henri Bergson in Japan, with the 1910s "Bergson boom." Bergson proposed a view of evolution that was not materialist or reliant on natural selection. It was the elusive life-power of the "*elan vital*" that pushed evolution forward. While for French intellectuals Bergson was popular because he retained God in the process of evolution, for interwar Japanese intellectuals, it seemed to be an alternative to the dead world of physics and saw the universe as alive. Arthur Schopenhauer, whose natural evolution was the product of a cosmic Will, also became one of the must-reads of the era. While thoroughly modern, these ideas show the resistance to materialist reductionism and the interwar unease with modernity and the loss of the ideals of progress and civilization.

This vitalist conception of the universe resonated with older conceptions of nature in the Buddhist and Taoist traditions. While Buddhism was originally concerned with how to escape the meaninglessness and suffering cycle of life and rebirth, Buddhist discourse in Japan, especially after theories such

TEZUKA OSAMU'S VISION OF LIFE, OF A LIVING UNIVERSE IN WHICH AN ENDLESS CIRCLE OF EVOLUTION AND TRANSMIGRATION TAKES PLACE, AND HIS CONCOMITANT MESSAGE ABOUT THE DANGERS OF THE ILLUSION OF TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS, IS ONE VARIANT OF A SPECIFIC MODERN CONVERGENCE OF LARGER INTELLECTUAL TRENDS IN WHICH VITALISM, BUDDHISM, AND EVOLUTIONARY THEORY MERGE.

as those of Inoue Enryō, and when merging in the twentieth century with vitalist theory, developed an affirming attitude toward life (*inochi* or *seimei*). After the defeat in 1945 and the reinvention of Japan as a nation devoted to peace, this commitment to life intensified and was coupled to the message of peace. Today, Buddhist temples often display signs encouraging respect for life. The same can also clearly be seen in the new Buddhist religions. To give one example, Ikeda Daisaku, the leader of Soka Gakkai, in a conversation with Arnold Toynbee on religion and evolution, said:

> The entire universe, including our earth, is a life entity: it is *kū* [emptiness] which contains life. When the conditions are right for the tendency for life to manifest itself, life can be generated anywhere and at any time. Modern scientists suspect that there may be life on other planets. I interpret their suspicion as the first step toward the proof of the idea of the life-nature of the universe. I believe that the entire universe is a sea of life potentiality comprising infinite possibilities for manifestation.[20]

Prewar vitalism transformed into a message of peace was also the main intellectual thrust in Tezuka's project. In this respect, it is worth noting that Tezuka did not commit himself outright to one camp in the debates in evolutionary biology concerning natural selection, competition, and the "struggle for survival." To give just one example, *Apollo's Song* (*Aporo no uta*) features an island where all animals live in harmony, having been brought there by a zookeeper who had fled the onslaught of war, and created a kind of Eden of mutual aid.[21] But most times struggle illustrated between and within species is emphasized, often suggesting the need for this to produce a greater harmony in nature. Tezuka's nature was no utopia and, similar to Darwin's nature, the two poles of struggle and harmony in nature often stand in unresolved (or a creative) tension.

In the postwar era, prewar vitalism was also coupled with an ecological message, especially when the price of Japan's "high growth" on the environment became clear. The dissonance between industrial civilization and

FIGURE 2. "Gautama discovers that the universe itself is alive." Tezuka Osamu, *Hi no Tori* (Phoenix), vols. 201–12, 362–65 of *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū* (Complete manga works of Tezuka Osamu) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1987), 101. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

biological evolution is put even more concretely in Tezuka's 1970–71 *Ode to Kirihito* (*Kirihito sanka*), a story in which polluted water produces a disease that causes humans to partially devolve to what seems like an earlier stage of evolution.[22] In both *Metropolis* and *Phoenix,* humanity's greed drives the development of civilization and a disconnection from nature. Ultimately, this "mistake in evolution" makes humankind a disease in the larger living body of the cosmos.

In conclusion, we can say that Tezuka Osamu's vision of life, of a living universe in which an endless circle of evolution and transmigration takes place, and his concomitant message about the dangers of the illusion of technological progress, is one variant of a specific modern convergence of larger intellectual trends in which vitalism, Buddhism, and evolutionary theory merge. While Tezuka's self-description portrays this theme of "life" as a product of his two foundational experiences, it seems his ideas should be seen as part of a longer tradition of vitalism and circular theories of evolution, especially as formulated by modern Buddhist thinkers in their encounter with modern science. Tezuka's ideas also show the continuing resistance to the materialist worldview associated with evolutionary theory, the merging of evolution with vitalism and transmigration, and the continuing use of evolutionary theory to resist the ideology of progress through technological advancement. It would be interesting to see how and to what extent Tezuka's manga influenced postwar Japanese conceptions of nature. But given its massive circulation, Tezuka's manga undoubtedly formed an important link in the construction and dissemination of the interwar conceptions of nature and life in postwar Japan.

Notes

1. "*Rasuto messēji* 1: *kodomo tachi e: mangaka* Tezuka Osamu" (Last Message, to Children: Manga Artist Tezuka Osamu), *NHK Supeshiaru, Nippon hōsō kyōkai* 5 November 2006.

2. Tezuka Osamu, *Boku no manga jinsei* (My manga life) (Tokyo: Iwanami shinsho, 1997).

3. "*Rasuto messēji* 1"

4. Tezuka, *Boku no manga jinsei,* 76.

5. Ibid., 77.

6. Ibid., 75.

7. Ibid.

8. Tezuka Osamu, *Metropolis,* trans. Kimar Sivasubramanian (Milwaukee, Ore.: Dark Horse Comics, 2003), 12–13.

9. I have described the philosophy of biology of Oka Asajirō in more detail in "*Kokemushi kara tetsugaku* made: *seibutsugaku, shinkaron no tetsugaku no senkusha toshite no Oka Asajirō. Nihon tetsugakushi kenkyū*" (From *Bryozoa* to philosophy: Okasajirō, pioneer in the philosophy of the philosophy of biology and evolutionary theory) *Nihon tetsugakushi kenkyū* 4 (2007): 75–99.

10. Tezuka Osamu, *Hi no Tori* (*Phoenix*), vols. 201–12 and 362–65 of *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū* (Complete manga works of Tezuka Osamu) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1987).

11. Tezuka Osamu, *Hi no tori*, vol 2. (1967; Toyko: Kadogawa bunkō, 2004), 145–51.

12. Ibid., 234.

13. Ibid., 265.

14. Ibid., 281.

15. Ibid., 282.

16. Inoue Enryō, *Reikon fumetsu ron*, in *Inoue Enryō senshū* (Selected works of Inoue Enryō), 19:307–412 (Tokyo: Tōyōdaigaku, 1987).

17. Ibid., 337.

18. Ibid., 338.

19. See, among others, Suzuki Sadami, *Seimei de yomu nihon kindai-taisho seimei shugi no tanjo to tenkai* (Reading Japan's modern period through life: The birth and development of vitalism) (Tokyo: Nippon hōsō shuppan kyōkai, 1996).

20. Arnold Toynbee and Ikeda Daisaku, *Choose Life: A Dialogue*, ed., Richard L. Cage. (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 251.

21. Tezuka Osamu, *Aporo no Uta* (Apollo's Song) serialized in *Shukan Shōnen Kingu* (1970).

22. Tezuka Osamu, *Kirihito Sanka* (Ode to Kirihito) serialized in *Biggu Komiku* (1970–1971).

LINDA H. CHANCE

Atom Came from Bugs: The Precocious Didacticism of Tezuka Osamu's *Essays in Insect Idleness*

We have reproduced the unpublished "naturalist's papers on bugs" that TEZUKA OSAMU, the "god of manga," created when he was sixteen. Essays that bring together his varied thoughts on human society in wartime. Insect illustrations, each drawn carefully with pen. Also including his own comics on the theme of his youth. If you love bugs, you will always be young.

Mighty Atom was born from bugs.

—Tezuka Osamu, *Konchū tsurezuregusa*, edited by Aino Hiroyuki

This announcement crawls across the extrawide *obi*—a horizontal paper wrapper named after the belt on traditional Japanese clothing—on the December 1996 Shōgakukan publication *Konchū tsurezuregusa* (Essays in insect idleness).[1] The enhancement that serves to attract the reader to most Japanese books today is graced with Tezuka's drawings of three bugs and three-quarters of a butterfly on the front (Figure 1). The rear of the *obi* features, predictably, a sample comment from the explanatory material of the *kaisetsu*, a form of afterword and endorsement routine in paperbacks, by Okumoto Daisaburō (b. 1944). This slim volume's outermost layer presents the contents as the

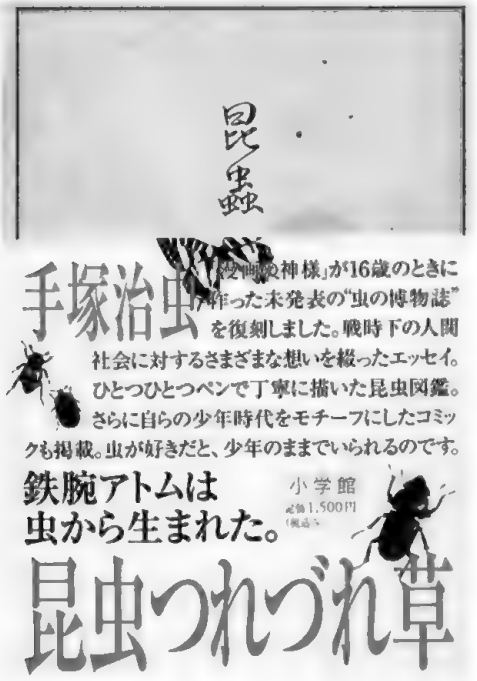


FIGURE 1. Cover of Shōgakukan's 1996 edition of Tezuka Osamu's *Konchū Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in insect idleness), showing *obi* wrapper. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

origin of the god of comics's masterwork, *Tetsuwan Atomu* (*Mighty Atom* or *Astro Boy*). Such a declaration is not surprising, since Shōgakukan publishers used this space to entice potential buyers of these compiled excerpts from Tezuka's wartime writings and comics related to his youth, issued too long after Tezuka's death in 1989 to be snapped up with other tribute tomes by his adoring public.[2] The surprising thing comes inside, after the handsomely produced (for a book priced at 1500 yen, consumption tax included) front matter. There, Tezuka's preface to his *Konchū tsurezuregusa* appears in photolithographic reproduction (Figure 2). In that single page, we read a manifesto whose tone, as Okumoto notes about several of the insect-related essays, bespeaks "the composure of a great man of letters" (*taika no yoyū*).[3] The consummate manga artist and writer first finds his voice while lingering on a favorite subject: bugs. There may be something to the hyperbolic proclamation on the book's wrapper that "the Mighty Atom was born from bugs."

It might be Okumoto's profession as a French literature expert that leads him to look to foreign authors such as Victor Hugo or Balzac to find one with Tezuka's scope and precociousness.[4] These are no doubt fair comparisons. Tezuka's own choice, though, is to compare himself to [Yoshida] Kenkō (ca. 1283–ca. 1352), the medieval author of a work that has been a favorite of teachers in Japan since the early seventeenth century, and whose *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in idleness) provides the title for Tezuka's gathering of writings from his fourteenth to sixteenth years.[5] What drove the young man with the pen and the butterfly net to frame his earliest literary venture as an heir to *Tsurezuregusa*? This early to mid-fourteenth century string of 244 prose passages is known for its wide range of subject matter and style, not to mention the adaptability of its loosely connected, gem-like parts to pedagogical uses. The classic title has been appropriated by many a writer to compile short pieces of a given topic in random order, such as Katayama Saburō for *Kenchiku tsurezuregusa* (1979, Essays in architectural idleness). Was Tezuka attracted, as many authors including Kenkō himself seem to have been, to the freedom of

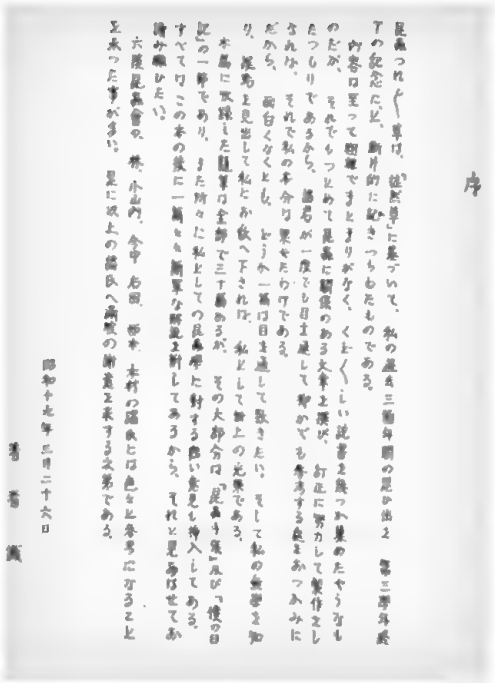


FIGURE 2. Preface, handwritten by sixteen-year old Tezuka in 1944. Tezuka Osamu, *Konchū Tsurezuregusa* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1996), 9. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

miscellaneous short segments, dismissed by its own opening line as written in a state of "having nothing better to do" (the *tsurezure* of the name)? Was he seeking the aura of wisdom and canonical weight that the earlier work conferred, due to its place on the reading list of every young, literate Japanese? Was he suggesting that life during wartime was idle (another translation of *tsurezure*) for someone with his ambitions or for sidelined citizens? These and more questions arise from Tezuka's choice of the title *Konchū tsurezuregusa*. In this brief essay, I aim to discuss how Tezuka the schoolboy came by a tone befitting a literary giant through an act of adaptation, tracing the techniques that he borrows and asking whether it is fair to claim that bugs gave us Atom. The work itself may provide some answers; at the very least the motives of the publishers and editors invite speculation, since it is quite something to aver that *Tetsuwan Atomu,* frequently credited as a key source of the manga and anime boom we witness today, originated in any single pursuit, even Tezuka's noted passion for arthropods.[6]

Tezuka begins the preface (as the medieval author before him had) with several assertions of his humble intentions and desultory methods:

> *Konchū tsurezuregusa* is based on *Tsurezuregusa* and is something I wrote up in fragments from my memories of the past three years, to commemorate the end of my third year in school.[7]
>
> The content is very much rough and rambling, just a few tedious caprices gathered together, but even so, since I have taken care to choose passages that have to do with insects, and have endeavored to correct errors as I produced it, if you will look through it even once and grasp points of whatever use to you, I will have fulfilled my duty.[8]

As we see above, he soon shifts from apologies for his haphazardness into an emphasis on his effort ("taken care to choose"; "endeavored to correct") and selectivity ("passages that have to do with insects"). Before the midpoint of

the preface Tezuka is speaking of his "duty" (*honbun*) to his audience, whom he calls *shokun,* a standard address that a writer might assume toward his equals or younger readers.

Here is the voice of a young man on a didactic mission. According to Okumoto and the editors, this is one of twenty books and illustrated newsletter issues that Tezuka cranked out by hand between 1942 and 1944 (*Konchū tsurezuregusa* is almost the shortest at a total of twenty-three pages).[9] His focus is on the information it contains, and the desire to reach his readers is palpable. He continues:

> Even if you don't find it interesting, I'd really like you to look it over. And if you find me to be misinformed or catch errors, nothing would honor me more than to have you tell me so.[10]

Tezuka notes that his collection consists of thirty segments. These are, he details, mostly culled from his insect notebooks (*konchū techō* were commercially available to the general public for the purpose of recording entomological observations) (Figure 3) or his diary, supplemented by what he calls his "crude opinions" on entomology, followed by explanations at the back of the book.[11] Shōgakukan has reproduced only a portion of this whole, but we can still see Tezuka's attitude of deliberate calculation. His last prefatory move is to credit six of his companions in the local insect-collecting society, the Rikuryō Insect Group, for their consultations.[12] The date of the preface is March 26, 1944; he signs it "written by the author" (*chosha shirusu*).[13] Tezuka has followed the expected formula of personal writing in the Japanese tradition, humbling himself before taking the reader firmly in hand, ultimately staking his claim to full authorship. It is a most assured and auspicious sally for a first-time essayist.

Tezuka begins the collection itself as though it were a proper history of insects, noting that the oldest inheritance of invertebrates in the nation's culture is not as things but as words. He marvels that the country was full of dragonflies 2600 years ago, giving the name Akitsushima, "land of dragonflies."[14] He follows this with accounts of the gods Ōkuninushi and Susano-o's links to insects.

In a subsequent segment Tezuka moves on to the beauty of the autumn music made by garden insects, declaring himself in sympathy with poet Uejima Onitsura (1661–1738), whose *haikai* "Bathwater, with no place to toss it out—sound of insects" (*gyōzui no/ sutedokoro naki/ mushi no koe*) portrays his reluctance to throw the used water across the field of singing creatures. In a section reproduced out of its original order by the editors (thus making

FIGURE 3. First pages of *Konchū Tsurezuregusa,* handwritten by Tezuka in 1944. *Konchū Tsurezuregusa,* 12. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

his work seem less miscellaneous than Kenkō's), Tezuka also rewrites *haikai* master Kobayashi Issa's (1763–1827) well-known verse that imagines a fly is rubbing its hands and feet in prayer and thus should not be swatted.[15] "Had Issa known that flies are tidy and rub themselves constantly to keep clean, would he have left this famous line?" asks the young scientist. "Whoa, don't swat! Until the fly finishes its toilet" (*yare utsuna / hae no keshō no / owaru made*) is Tezuka's self-proclaimed "clumsy" version.[16]

The sixteen-year-old does not, admittedly, write with the rhetorical delicacy of Kenkō, who leads his readers through point and counterpoint to accept unexpected conclusions.[17] Rather, Tezuka displays an urgency to make his cases, whatever they may be, clearly. In a long passage he asserts that bugs often influence human feelings. He does develop the argument by first proposing that the national character of the Japanese is a product of their fondness for nature, including how "they brighten at the sight of butterflies frolicking in spring and produce tears in the heart upon listening to the calling

FIGURE 4. Insect notebook (*konchū techō*) of the type sold in department stores, measuring 14.5 cm. by 10 cm. Pictured in interview with Hayashi Hisao, in Tezuka, *Konchū Tsurezure-gusa*, 231. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

of insects in autumn."[18] He then tries his hand at the apparently paradoxical comment that the Japanese were not originally susceptible to sadness, having all been cheerful and happy. With Kenkō, such a turn would usually lead us off the track. But Tezuka's detour through a discussion of how insects unlock emotions that we normally put away after the death of a relative folds into his main contention that insects play a large role in affecting people's emotions. Even his final suggestion that Euro-Americans are lacking in emotional life is part and parcel of his consistent point that insects sway the psychology of a people. He proposes that Japan has a lot of insects, and the West does not, so insects must determine the degree of emotions felt.[19]

The essence of Tezuka as a didactic writer suffuses a short passage in which he submits that war has caused the people of the nation to focus too much on battles, turning away from the wide world of nature. He becomes a bit strident in defense of bug-watching:

> For this reason, it is not easy to inform people *such as* this of the existence of this limitless treasure house. Therefore, enthusiasts, acting as enthusiasts, neither increasing nor decreasing, *must* forever preserve the fascination with insect record keeping, long ignored and discarded by people, so that it will not abate.
>
> Enthusiasts' recent widely continued use of insect notebooks *should* on this account be highly welcomed.[20]

He achieves his tone here through repetition and formal expressions that are originally tied to the translation of classical Chinese: *gotoki* ("like, as") and *beki* (the hortative "should, must") (italicized above). The use of different grammatical registers (from vernacular to highly learned) to vary the flavor is characteristic of Kenkō's work as well, and suggests Tezuka's close reading of his source.

The text is also a Kenkō-esque miscellany to the extent that Tezuka introduces a frenzied non sequitur dream of himself shivering on a dark, dark

road. Cracks fill the ground and bugs appear—the very bugs he was hoping to collect—but they lack heads or limbs when he grabs them. In his frustration, he fills the cracks with rocks, which then burn red hot and fly off.[21] This is the entire account—he offers no interpretation, no lesson, no contest, again as Kenkō often manages not to do.[22] Yet he speaks to the reader just as intensely as when his contention is overt.

THE ESSENCE OF TEZUKA AS A DIDACTIC WRITER SUFFUSES A SHORT PASSAGE IN WHICH HE SUBMITS THAT WAR HAS CAUSED THE PEOPLE OF THE NATION TO FOCUS TOO MUCH ON BATTLES, TURNING AWAY FROM THE WIDE WORLD OF NATURE.

Any adaptor of *Tsurezuregusa* must be able to write every genre from lists to fiction, and in ways that surprise. Of deep interest to Tezuka fans will be the skillful narratives that crop up in *Konchū tsurezuregusa*. These are compact war stories starring ants and butterflies. Told with the drama and tension that intimate his storytelling skills, they also demonstrate his tendency to allegorize human behavior through the medium of nonhuman actors. A story of small red ants joined by a black ant three times their size results in a decisive confrontation. Four tiny red ants (he counts them as *yonin*, "four people," at one point) stand up together to the single black ant, which, defeated, curls up in a ball and jerks to its death: "Victory was decided. Compared to the haughty overconfidence of the larger foe, their combined power was many times—many tens of times—stronger."[23] The reader can hardly help generalizing to the war. By this late stage, the government exhorted all countrymen to counter the well-supplied American foe with Japan's superior spiritual power, never doubting that Japanese who keep the faith would eventually prevail.

In a further story Tezuka clearly authorizes such a reading. Having observed ants dragging a crumb of bread "one hundred times their weight," he comments: "Let's say this bread is Japan's current national crisis. And consider the red ants as the youth who rise up to shoulder this crisis. Nearby, the entrance to their crater, where the dawn of peace awaits, is visible. But they certainly will not get there anytime soon." Tezuka compares the slow rate of progress toward this goal to a long-term construction project. In this section, the black ants are smaller, and are figured as "the un-Japanese (*hikokumin*), individualists, and Communistic terrorist thinkers"; they sneak across the bread in the manner of "criminal black marketeers." The old system is represented by those who would squash the red ants. But are not the red ants who will survive these difficulties and interference "we youth?" he asks.[24] The wartime storyteller Tezuka naturally takes the side of youth, painting the hard circumstances of the day through insect anecdotes. Although he sometimes portrays

himself as hanging around absently (*bonyari*) watching creaturely life, in no sense is the "idleness" of the title meant to refer to the existential condition of Tezuka or his compatriots. They feel involved in a valuable task, whether that is preserving knowledge of the natural world in their insect memos or spinning forecasts of Japan's victorious destiny. The latter in particular shows the molding force of his times.

How else might we situate *Konchū tsurezuregusa* in relation to Tezuka's other early writing and his subsequent development? Obviously the adolescent author had not yet found his mature range for delivering messages through his work. No writer of sixteen, with years of creativity ahead until his death at sixty, would be immune to further changes in style and attitude. It is worth remembering, nonetheless, that he chose two genres by which to communicate his boyhood conviction that insects mattered: the illustrated newsletter and the idle essay. In both we can see the impress of schoolboy discipline and the taxonomical drive, tempered by a strong sense of narrative and a license to play with loose structures. These qualities seem important throughout his career. This does not mean that at this stage he escapes the terms proffered to all good boys by the propagandists of the state, for he begins history as they would with the native gods and portrays the enemy as large and lazy.[25] Even so, he already shows some of the sensitivity to the audience that will bring him decades later to state that comics are entertainment, requiring that the artist moderate the presentation of themes to avoid lecturing. An example he gives is the theme of nondiscrimination in *Tetsuwan Atomu*, which is softened by its displacement onto a robot.[26]

It is often posited that Tezuka's experiences during the defeat of Japan, and in particular the beating that he took at the hands of some American G.I.s in Occupation-era Takarazuka, shaped his views of cross-cultural communication, which certainly includes the human–robot divide in *Tetsuwan Atomu*.[27] In spite of some suggestive links, such as in the stories starring bugs, no commentary in the Shōgakukan volume explicitly details how we might see the influence of Tezuka's attention to the insect world in his choice to produce the specific character of Mighty Atom as a robot. Rather, we are shown numerous meticulous drawings of bugs that prove the drafting skills and observational rigor of the young man. It is only with this evidence that the editors adumbrate their thesis that "Mighty Atom was born from bugs."

If we read carefully, however, *Konchū tsurezuregusa* does present support for the Atom connection. Although the editors do not mention it in as many words—perhaps because "pedantic" is a near synonym—we can detect a strong didactic flavor in its preface and sections. Highlighting this does not

constitute any negative criticism of Tezuka's work on my part. In fact, it is the critique of technological medicine and war seen in his major series, such as *Black Jack* (1973–83, *Burakku Jakku*) or *Phoenix* (1967–88, *Hi no tori*), that compels attention to his comics as core contributions to postwar Japanese reflection on the problems of humanity after the unthinkable destruction of the Fifteen Year War. Tezuka's messages, as catalogued by Frederick Schodt, include "attacks on all types of racial discrimination," "distrust of science and scientific rationalism," "belief in the stupidity of war," and "interest in nature and belief in the sanctity of life."[28] Thomas Lamarre draws our gaze to the critical role of multispeciesism in Tezuka and its origins in prewar and wartime discourses—*Konchū tsurezuregusa* offers further evidence for Tezuka's grounding in and use of such thinking, and may be profitably studied in that connection.[29] My purpose here is simply to note the didactic assuredness that the young Tezuka bodied forth in this collection. Like many Japanese authors before him, he used the excuse that his collection of writings was sloppy, inherent in the invocation of *Tsurezuregusa,* to put before the reader clear and cogent statements of what he thought was important. Leaning on canonical poems and marshalling traditional comments about Japanese love of nature, while making a fair effort at modeling his style on the classic miscellany, he draws attention to the world of the smallest creatures. Here is the germ of what Natsu Onoda Power calls Tezuka's "signature style" of "intertextuality and constant transformation."[30] His graphic talents may provide the only visible link to *Tetsuwan Atomu,* but the manga and subsequent anime are surely also underpinned by the confidence and masterful voice of this youthful essayist.

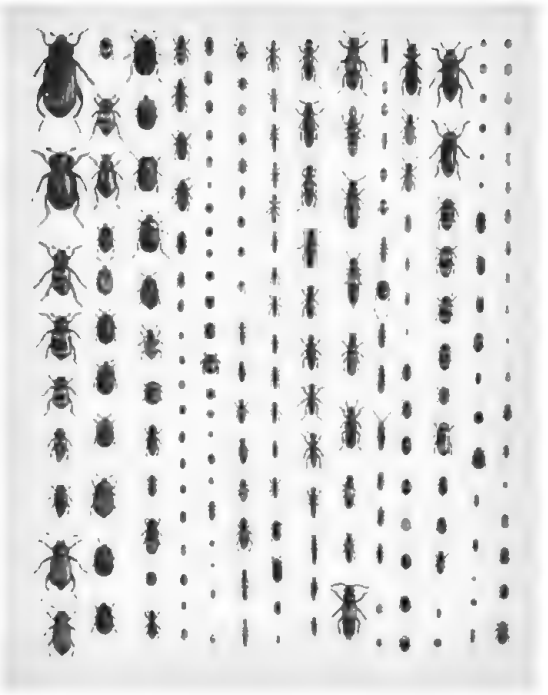


FIGURE 5. Carabid beetles drawn by the young Tezuka. *Konchū Tsurezuregusa,* 17. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

Tezuka's didactic impulses with respect to insects have been passed down to this day. A recent item in the *Mainichi Shinbun* newspaper introduces an exhibit of ninety invertebrate specimens collected by Tezuka. The week-long series of events, which of course also includes a display of comic images,

represents the first tie-up between the Tezuka Osamu Kinenkan (The Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum) in Takarazuka and the Minō Kōen Konchūkan (Minō Park Insect Museum). Referring to the *osamushi* (ground beetle) that Tezuka incorporated in his pen name, the article informs us that there are eight hundred varieties of *Carabidæ*, nicknamed "walking jewels" for their coloration.[31] A page of carabid beetles is among the colored drawings reprinted in Shōgakukan's *Konchū tsurezuregusa* (Figure 5) with the note that they "do not stand out."[32] The same cannot be said for Tezuka's precocious talent as a writer.

Notes

1. All translations are mine. Capital lettering corresponds to text in red. Tezuka Osamu, *Konchū tsurezuregusa,* ed. Aino Hiroyuki, with Kurosasa Shigeki and Hosoyamada Masato of Lapita Books (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1996). Book design is by Horibuchi Shinji and Tsumemaru Tokiko of tee graphics. My translation of the title relies on Donald Keene's incisive rendering of Kenkō's *Tsurezuregusa* as *Essays in Idleness,* first published by New York's Columbia University Press in 1967.

2. Although the *obi* teaser highlights the unpublished works of the period 1942–44—of which substantial portions of three appear, along with a few unpublished drawings and notes—about a third of the volume consists of two comics, *Zefirusu* (Zephyrus) *Insekutaa* (Insector), which had previously appeared in *Shūkan Shōnen Sandee* (May 23, 1971) and *Shūkan Shōnen Magajin* (April 8, 1979), respectively. One senses the editors aimed to provide a good overview of Tezuka's youth as he represented it both at the time and later.

3. "Kaisetsu," in *Konchū tsurezuregusa,* 237. A few pages later he draws a comparison to Rimbaud (240).

4. Okumoto suggests as much himself. Ibid., 236.

5. On the uses of Kenkō's *Tsurezuregusa* in pedagogy, see Linda H. Chance, "Constructing the Classic: *Tsurezuregusa* in Tokugawa Readings," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117, no. 1 (January–March 1997): 39–56.

6. Helen McCarthy writes: "*Astro Boy* is the sum of Tezuka's background, influences, experience, and belief." *The Art of Osamu Tezuka: God of Manga* (New York: Abrams ComicArts, 2009), 123.

7. The school was the Kitano Middle School, under the old system equivalent to high school.

8. Tezuka, *Konchū tsurezuregusa,* 9.

9. Okumoto, "Kaisetsu," 236; Aino et al., *Konchū tsurezuregusa,* 12.

10. Tezuka, *Konchū tsurezuregusa,* 9.

11. Ibid., 9. According to the reference footnote provided by Inomata Toshio, of the Nihon Rishi Gakkai (The Lepidopterological Society of Japan) these notebooks were sold at the Hankyū Department Store in Osaka from 1935 on. *Konchū tsurezuregusa,* 19.

12. Another feature of the Shōgakukan volume is an interview with Hayashi Hisao, one of Tezuka's buddies from the group, titled "I Wanted Tezuka-kun to Become an Entomologist" (*Konchū tsurezuregusa,* 227–35).

13. Tezuka, *Konchū tsurezuregusa,* 9.

14. Ibid., 10. As with *Tsurezuregusa,* which in early manuscript form had no breaks but is today always printed in numbered segments, section titles for the published *Konchū tsurezuregusa*—in this case "Stories of Deities and Insects"—are the work of later editors.

15. Tezuka's original text moves from Onitsura to a paean to the importance of labels in entomology. Ibid., 12.

16. A variation on Issa's "*yare utsuna / hae ga te wo suru / ashi wo suru.*" Ibid., 14.

17. See Linda H. Chance, *Formless in Form: Kenkō, Tsurezuregusa, and the Rhetoric of Japanese Fragmentary Prose* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).

18. Tezuka, *Konchū tsurezuregusa,* 15.

19. Ibid., 18–19.

20. Ibid., 19. The effect of repetition in the Japanese is not as awkward as in this literal translation.

21. Ibid., 19, 22.

22. See, for example, section 40 of *Tsurezuregusa,* about a daughter who cannot marry because of her strange dietary habits.

23. Tezuka, *Konchū tsurezuregusa,* 37.

24. Ibid., 38–39.

25. An anonymous reader for the press pointed out that Tezuka's wartime diary is full of standard state propaganda. An entry for the first of April 1945, for example, says that the human determination of the Japanese is many thousands of times more than that of the enemy, whatever materiel they may have. Noting the need to kill Yankees (written as "American devils"), Tezuka asks, "If we kill, kill, kill them all, then what would we have to fear from their physical attacks?" *Tezuka Osamu esseishū* 6 (Tezuka Osamu essays 6), *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū* (Complete comic works of Tezuka Osamu) vol. 395, bekkan (supplement) 13 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1997), 65.

26. "Ikari. Naze? Sorekara?" (Anger. Why? And then what?), *Tezuka Osamu esseishū* 3, *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū* vol. 392, bekkan 7 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1997), 217–18. Originally published in *Sōzōryoku no bōken* (The adventure of imagination) (Tokyo: Rironsha, 1981).

27. Frederick L. Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, Manga/Anime Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif.: Stone Bridge Press, 2007), 29–30; McCarthy, *The Art of Osamu Tezuka,* 24.

28. Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays,* 123, 128, 132, 144.

29. See especially Thomas Lamarre, "Speciesism, Part II: Tezuka Osamu and the Multispecies Ideal," *Mechademia* 5 (2010): 58.

30. Natsu Onoda Power, *God of Comics: Osamu Tezuka and the Creation of Post–World War II Manga* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), 17.

31. "News to Make You Smile: Exhibition of Insects that Tezuka Osamu Loved" (Hotto suru nyūsu: Tezuka Osamu ga aishita konchūten), http://mainichi.jp/select/wadai/news/20120109mog00m040001000c.html. The Minō mountain area was a destination for Tezuka and his bug-loving chums.

32. Tezuka, *Konchū tsurezuregusa,* 17.

VERINA GFADER

On the Fabulation of a Form of Life in the Drawn Line and Systems of Thought

THE GARDEN

Organic and nonorganic objects, concrete as well as indeterminate figures, populate the garden landscape. Exact machinic lines create and define a series of pattern-like images, scenes where colorless human and nonhuman forms are strangely interweaved with each other and with topological spaces. Filmic zooms further abstract an already abstracted architecture. The image framing undergoes radical cutting. It is as if the single images of the graphic novel *Garden* are extracts from a huge unifying image, segments of a surface that cannot be seen in its totality.[1] The people, characters, are made from geometric forms, textures such as fur or stripes, and bodily extensions. Lacking singular facial components they remain a crowd. Heads are round shapes or planet-like, sometimes describing a cube with a hole in the middle, sometimes with animal-like extensions such as a beak. If eyes are drawn, they appear as simple dots or similar, occasionally also as technological devices, as camera, as telescope. These in a sense characterless beings form a group of travelers exploring a seemingly mutating environment. There is constant movement achieved by prolonged lines extending across the paper surface,

and by perceptually rapid actions of the figures (climbing, jumping, walking) resulting in an assemblage of compressed "stories" within an overall story. The complete story is constantly put into question by a certain lack of linearity the novel may suggest. Page becomes a catalyst, (play)ground for energies surfacing as animated geometries.

THE PEOPLE, CHARACTERS, ARE MADE FROM GEOMETRIC FORMS, TEXTURES SUCH AS FUR OR STRIPES, AND BODILY EXTENSIONS.

How can vital lines, understood as lines that embody and express a lively quality, be read in relation to the reiteration of histories that propose an intrinsic link between modes of vitality, life-forms, and power?

In what way does drawing, particularly when perceived as the line being animated, contribute to the formation of an inclusive mode of agency: human/nonhuman, material/immaterial?

In what way is the animated drawn line inseparable from questioning its ontological status?

Drawing on legacies of Tezuka Osamu's anime work and drawing more generally, this essay assumes that drawing is always already a movement, is by its very nature nonstatic, vital so to speak. With the animated line, more specifically, there is an additional, an extra or hypermovement perhaps, which brings in a different kind or degree of movement. This movement is based on when drawing opens up the possibility of autonomy in relation to its "conditions," when it proposes a form of life, a quasi-autonomous life-form, thereby becoming a material or immaterial agent. Supposing that the conditions for this drawing/animation are as such reducible to zero, or exchangeable with a loose or to a degree unstable set of parameters (the line has its own life), a differentiation has been made between drawing as a means of expression versus drawing as an image or indicator of refusing power and a degree of the "authorial." As will be explored in this text, drawing is caught in a state of being both. And, the line has its own force or power.

Referring to this quasi-autonomous life-form of a line, it maybe becomes essential here to think about a relation between the biopolitical and animation based on the assumption of a particular form of life. Giorgio Agamben has proposed the *form-of-life* that "defines a life—human life—in which the single ways, acts, and processes of living are never simple *facts* but always and above all *possibilities* of life, always and above all power."[2] In *Means without End: Notes on Politics,* Agamben aims to formulate a coming politics based on this proposition, which means abandoning the distinction between different forms of life (biological life as the secularized form of naked life divided

from the political life) that haunts the discourse of political life since Michel Foucault's introduction of biopolitics.[3] Affirming that life is now intrinsically linked and subordinated to politics (governmental principles and states) and thereby biopolitical, Agamben claims to redefine and clarify what one means with biological life "outside," prior, or exclusive to political power. Transforming the constitutive elements of the biopolitical, his form-of-life expresses an inclusive mode of (human) life-forms.[4] With this deregulation of forms of life, animation and vital lines come into play as components in this field and in narratives of sovereignty and the political.

The determination of "vital line" involves an expansion in which philosophical ideas of the *élan vital* and the realities of turbulence in science and media meet the peculiarities of the animated image.[5] *Élan vital* introduces a vital force in both organic and inorganic matter, a principle of a self-organized lively quality in things. The discovery or rediscovery of the "living" in the image or artwork occurs with transformations of politics, whereby new problems and conflicts call into question a new and potentially distinct, as well as transforming, space of agency, life, irreversibility, and art.

WRITING ON VITAL LINES IS A WRITING THROUGH A LINE—A DECOMPOSING AND PROCESSING OF ANIMATION.

Further, drawing's vital lines and drawn animation propose to have a decentralized character, that is their forms of movement and vitality express a decentralized and decentralizing mode (figure remains in a state of becoming, and so on), thereby becoming a diagram of power. What allows us to read animation—and a particular type of animation—as diagrammatic?

Following these lines of inquiry we might recognize a connection to distinguishing between nonsophisticated animation (transparent mode of production) versus smooth, sophisticated animation. Against an equilibrium, this distinction touches on the way the image shapes thought, systems of thought, and discourse. From this position, writing on vital lines is a writing through a line—a decomposing and processing of animation.

Fabulation—suggested in the title—here has a technical meaning: It is the way the thinking and writing on the subject determines the different materials and segments, composes and arranges them toward a structure, not necessarily as a clear linear progression. The presented "chunks" of information describe the relation between them and the overall text as sometimes inconsistent accumulation of notes, endnotes, commentary, image/artwork, writers commenting on such work, speculation, critical analysis, and semifictional account:

EXPANDED CALENDAR

> Seen as an open-ended activity, drawing is characterized by a line that is always unfolding, always becoming. And in the drawing's stages of becoming—mark becoming line, line becoming contour, contour becoming image—the first mark not only structures the blank page as an open field but also defines it temporally, as the drawing's marks follow one another in time. Their temporal sequence need not coincide with their spatial juxtaposition, however; they may overlap in space, and unlike painting, the act of drawing leaves it hard, after a while, to distinguish the first line from those that follow. The time of drawing, as Dirk Lauwaert remarks, fades away as lines accrete, and soon the resulting image erases the sequence, whichever line came first disappearing into the rest.[6]

In the first chapter, "Like a Tightrope Dancer," in her catalogue essay "A Century under the Sign of Line, Drawing and Its Extension (1910–2010)," Catherine de Zegher notes the hierarchy of time over space at the beginning of a drawing, which—in the process of the drawing—is soon replaced by a dissolution, not only of the primacy of time but also of the modality of one temporal structure. In the first instance, the moment of erasure of clearly distinguishing between the significance of time versus space (the temporality of sequence versus spatial juxtaposition) is recognized in a field of lines making it impossible and also irrelevant to identify the order in which the drawing has been processed. In the second instance, as time fades away into a "formless" black, the drawing emphasizes a lack of defining any time structure (linear time, nonlinear time, duration, etc.)—indeed, of defining the "any-time," to the extent that we are faced with drawing's function of dis/empowering the mechanisms of time. Subjecting drawing to film theory, it is here not unlike the Deleuzian crystal-image, in that "what we see in the crystal is always the bursting forth of life, of time, in its dividing in two or differentiation."[7]

Arguably, this formal, visual, and conceptual play of line drawing becoming a field of forces is an affirmation of a heterogeneous drive that drawing entails. Tending toward multiplicity and a capacity for disordering (first line–second line–third line . . . distinct nature of mark–line–contour, and so on), line (drawing) is an accumulation of articulating difference. It is a laboratory in its own right. Sometimes in an accidental mode, sometimes in a computational mode, it is vital in its simplicity of bringing forth principles of permutation toward all kinds of filled pages, scribbled images, and the formless.

THE SEA

John Cage's drawing on paper *Where R=Ryoanji 10R/5* (1984), for instance, exemplifies an "untimely" drawing, a drawing where time has rendered a net of circular movements created by pencil. The somewhat imaginary line by Piero Manzoni, *Line 18.82, September 1959* (1959) remains "seen" as text, virtual image, and date reference only. The work in ink on paper sits in a cardboard container.

Gutai artist Atsuko Tanaka's development of drawing is a literal trajectory from linear time (early calendar work *Calendar,* 1954), to spatial studies including wired and electronic impulses and circuits = connecting points (*Untitled—Study for "Work" (Bell),* 1955; *Drawing after "Electric Dress,"* 1956), to an image and state where everything fades, washes away. The 16mm film *Round on Sand* (1968) by Fukuzawa Hiroshi is an edited version of Tanaka's performance, an improvisation of drawing circles with a stick in the sand along the shore of Awaji Island in Japan.[8] There are two drawings in the film, one with chalk on a hard surface near the beach. The big drawing (on sand) is maybe around 100 to 150 meters long. It is not erased at the end of the film, but you see some waves moving onto it.

The actual moving image in animation synthesizes the heterogeneous drive of a drawing, although as Michael Newman says, "writing with light began by imitating drawing."[9] Frame by frame, the line in movement, as it appears, is virtually freed from a similar account of an initial temporal sequence. Already at the beginning of an animation, figuration transforms into time. The experience is of a moving image, each moment or frame a possibility within "one theme," each single image a chunk/slice of time.

LINE ARCHITECTURE

The vital line is one way in which animation can exist as architecture or topology. Thomas Lamarre's account of the plastic line in contrast to the structural line in the cartoon adds to such a mingling of "terrains." His analytic, pragmatic observations potentially surpass the limit space comics and animation seemingly occupy—at least when regarded in a more traditional way as nondiscipline, nonart, nonacademic, and nonhistorical (no major history, that is), always affected by, and interestingly also nourishing, a skepticism coming from the more established fields, territories, and disciplines. Lamarre's elaboration on the "plastic line'" in the manga *Barefoot Gen* (1973–87, *Hadashi*

no Gen) forms an inquiry that resonates with the status of geometry and spatiality, as well as action and affect, in the wider context of narrative works.[10]

In order to push principles of *plasticity* as constitutive elements in the cartoon and manga, more precisely shōnen manga,[11] Lamarre engages with filmmaker and film theoretician Sergei Eisenstein's regimes of forming in a project around "plasmaticness"; Eisenstein's (1988) conceptual contribution to an infinitely elastic cartoon line—he was working on an unfinished book on Walt Disney at that time—is centered on the capacity of stroke drawing to assume any form whatever in a continuous, amoeba-like contour. In contrast to a structural line, which maintains its precise shape and would break under pressure, the plastic line assumes a polyformic character, and it also produces polymorphic characters on the page/screen. Both bending and springing back, as Lamarre notes, the fluidity and flexibility of form gives the line agency, thereby subverting a subordination of line to form.[12] This active plastic line defines the painterly and filmic picture plane against figure–ground principles. What this version of a line interestingly introduces is a kind of surplus of motion. Following Deleuze and Guattari's differentiation between a "line between two points" and a "point between two lines," the amoeba-like contour exemplifies "one kind of a point between two lines. The contour creates the sense of a center of motion within it. It makes for an animate center, as if there were a point within the contour that at once grounded and provided the impetus for mobility and elasticity of the line on either side of it (or with the amoeba, on all sides of it). With its animate center, the cartoon line doesn't tend toward the efficiency and propriety of Euclidean geometry."[13] Vitality and a sort of lifeness here are inseparable from a plastic quality and an active inhuman formation, reproducing "life's" unpredictability and its physical status as inherently tangential.

In Naoyuki Tsuji's animations, for example, the drawn outline underlines the qualities of a plastic line thereby activating authorial detachment. In works such as *The Place, Where We Were* (2008), the drawing-as-a-mark or drawing-as-imprint is constantly put into question by the generalized, almost exchangeable and characterless line moving on its own.

The negative space in Seth Price's series of laser-cut silhouettes based on found material online defines a contour or outline corrupting the definition of any central point of the image. Price's silhouette figures oscillate between figuration, form, texture, and affect, and articulate a passage from the one to the "anything," from centrality toward digression and dispersal.

Besides providing a new reading on cartoon and shōnen manga, that emphasizes the embodied dialectical relation between plastic line and structural

line, the cartoon line and ruled line, the point between two lines and the line between two points, figure and form, character and panel, differential and structure, affect and action, emotion, fabulation and representation . . . (the list is long!), what is essential in the context of this essay are particularly two points sketched out as follows:[14] If vitality, that is the possibility of life, is punctual and cellular, as in the case of the animate center of the amoeba-like contour, and if a line is constituted by a varying number of dots—which remains open for discussion—then drawing is always already movement, by its very nature nonstatic, and vital.[15]

The dedication to a life/ness in animation is a dedication to reproduction, the ways this obsessive reiteration potentially enters other domains. In this logic, cartoon (animation) assumes the function or position of a quotation, but also that of an effect of maintenance, continuation, and preservation. As such, the specificity or singularity of animation is enclosed or encrypted, maintained in the very vitality of its line.

OTHER GEOMETRY

Cartoon lines' plasticity recuperates the infinite elasticity of the transparent, imaginary, virtual Neo-Concrete line of Lygia Clark and Hélio Oiticica in Brazil in the late 1950s/early '60s. The artists' engagement with the inanimate condition of the plane in painting and sculpture provoked an occupational, i.e. contaminating, drive realized in defining lines in the empty interstices or joints between planes that touch—Clark: "to reveal the 'processuality' of geometry by 'freeing the line in the plane.'"[16] On Clark's "organic line," Suely Rolnik writes: "The [painterly/sculptural] planes are juxtaposed with lines and gaps that make the surface dynamic, as if irrigating it with life-giving sap, causing the work to spill over and contaminate space . . . The plane thus recovers its poetic pulse."[17]

COSMIC

The spirit around the Neo-Concrete line was to "creat[e] 'living objects' in which could be glimpsed the primary energy, the endless process, the vital forces that stir in all things."[18]

Vital lines outlined above occupy a space toward the liminal and immaterial, as if the life, pulses, tensions, morphs, unstable figurations they

LIKE DEVICES ON/OF PAPER AND OF THE MIND, AS ONE ENCOUNTERS THE CAREFULLY DESIGNED AND ARRANGED LINES, ONE SHALL ENCOUNTER FORCES AND LIFE-ENERGIES BEYOND THE VISUAL.

temporarily assume exist on the condition of a vanishing, of withdrawing from the substantial. The effect of such displacement has been realized in experiments in abstraction early on: In geometric formulations, grids, and highly organized structures toward perfection, drawing works articulate a desire for achieving higher cognitive levels linked to the spiritual, emotional, and cosmic, to forces and processes of life. The distinctive practices of Agnes Martin (1912–2004), Hilma af Klint (1862–1944), and Emma Kunz (1892–1963) are exemplary in this development of a visual language of the nonrepresentational and immaterial against formalism, exposing visually ("substantially," "materially") modes of transcendence and philosophical and scientific concepts.[19] The precise and clear articulation of geometric form or structure via a drawing tool should not mislead one to assume a precise and clear articulation of an object or form. Like devices on/of paper and of the mind, as one encounters the carefully designed and arranged lines, one shall encounter forces and life-energies beyond the visual. Martin's viewer/subject, for example, is put into an uncertain space when confronted with these line textures that are "neither object nor space nor line nor anything—no form. They are light, lightness, about merging, about formlessness, breaking down form. You wouldn't think of form by the ocean."[20]

THE PEOPLE

The quasi-autonomous life-form in and of animation invites fabulation of several operations found in various contexts, histories, politics, and artistic practice, some of which are sketched out here: the reformulation and redistribution of life-forms in a politics; the favoring of a "possibilities of life" allowing for the animate line to participate in narratives of sovereignty; through animation to think and enact the biopolitical as open-ended relation of life-forms and power—a biopolitical line; the identification of line drawing as actualizing difference and heterogeneity; the insistence of a plasticity of the cartoon confirming a dialectical relation in this artistic form (plastic line versus structural line, and so on); the description of a punctual vitality found in the animate center of a line; insisting on the virtual line contaminating space; the capacity of a perfect geometry to refuse form but rather translate life processes.

There is also the recording of cell life on film, the representation of the cell

inseparable from connecting stillness and movement, and animation "forcing a theory of cellularity to become visible"—animation as cell, found in the histories of cell biology, microcinematography, and life.[21]

There are the life lines as palimpsest. There are different types of life lines, not necessarily always coinciding, composing us as individuals, social beings, groups: family/profession, work/vacation . . . then the more intimate lines that modify life on a more imperceptible level, nevertheless significant . . . and the line of gravity.[22]

There is the recent conflictual relation between drawing (animation) and photography addressing the reality of characters in new ways. The conflict points to a moment when drawing in animation begins to gain a status similar to a photograph. It is a new situation causing significant sociopolitical concern as noticed by Japanese film critic and film historian Deguchi Takehito. Discussing the power of the image of depicting the subject (photographic image) versus depicting "one who is nobody" (animation, drawing), now young people experience "the characters in animation more real than the real. It means the picture or drawing of Ayanami Rei, a figure in the *Neon Genesis Evangelion* manga and anime, is no longer a drawing of a girl but as real as her ID photo."[23] Human and nonhuman agency are combined in this animation in the realism of the drawn character.

Perhaps it is the breakdown of lines that most effectively characterizes a situation beyond the "graspability" of life *forms*. If the finitude of a line, its ending, irreversibility, death, or sudden dysfunction, its "quasi" (of the quasi-autonomous life), corrupts technological and political flow, it perhaps then also corrupts cultural flow. The broken, truncated line, based on the unpredictable or unforeseen break of infinite movement and vitality, where autonomies are reshuffled, is the line that animates a degree of vitality. And the image of the finite line is the function of its proliferating discourse.

Notes

1. Yuichi Yokoyama, *Garden* (New York: PictureBox, 2011). See also Paul Noble's drawn investigation of the imaginary town "Nobson" and the accompanying book *Nobson Newtown*, ed. Reiner Speck (Cologne, Germany: Salon Verlag, 1998), which describes the history of the Nobson area. My essay does not claim a neutralization of Western or Eastern sources and understandings. If I freely intermix diverse contexts, it is not to ignore the specificity of localities and histories but to identify, underline, and write some common features of the image (affects, sensations) across territorial, geographical, and intellectual space. For a text that highlights such writing/reading issues particularly in relation to narration and the Japanese novel, relevant here also regarding nonlinearity and text/line,

see Masao Miyoshi, "Against the Native Grain: The Japanese Novel and the 'Postmodern' West," in *Postmodernism and Japan,* ed. Masao Miyoshi and Harry D. Harootunian, 143–68 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1989). Anime is read in my text as a term that stands for Japanese animation in general; this approach relates to the original understanding and translation of anime as a Japanese abbreviation for all kinds of animation.

2. Giorgio Agamben, *Means without End: Notes on Politics,* trans. Vincenzo Binetti and Cesare Casarino (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 4 (emphases original). Agamben introduces the term "form-of-life" to explore "life that can never be separated from its form, a life in which it is never possible to isolate something such as naked life" (3–4).

3. For Foucault's analysis of biopower and biopolitics, see Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1: The Will to Knowledge,* trans. Robert Hurley (1976; London: Penguin, 1998).

4. I have written in more detail on this in the essay "Imaginary Agents—Flowers and the Common," in *Coded Cultures: New Creative Practices out of Diversity,* ed. Georg Russegger, Matthias Tarasiewicz, and Michal Wlodkowski (New York: Springer, 2011): 262–79.

5. Henri Bergson *Creative Evolution,* trans. Arthur Mitchell (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1983); Gilles Deleuze, *Bergsonism,* trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (New York: Zone Books, 1991); Ilya Prigogine with Isabelle Stengers, *Order out of Chaos* (New York: Shambhala, 1984).

6. Catherine de Zegher, "A Century under the Sign of Line, Drawing and its Extension (1910–2010)," in Cornelia H. Butler and Catherine de Zegher, *On Line: Drawing through the Twentieth Century,* 21–124 (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2010).

7. Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image,* trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta (London: The Athlone Press, 1989), 91.

8. On Tanaka's work see Mizuho Kato and Ming Tiampo, *Electrifying Art: Atsuko Tanaka, 1954–1968* (New York: The Morris & Helen Belkin Gallery and The Grey Art Gallery, 2004). Thanks to Jonathan Watkins at Ikon Gallery, Birmingham, for some additional information on the work.

9. Film, including animation, as light drawing or light writing identical to tracing versus a cinema without camera (Deleuze, *Cinema 2,* 215) and postanalog experience. Newman elaborates on the mark, trace, sign, and gesture of/in drawing, concluding with the "archaic[ness] of drawing in the age of mechanical reproduction, yet this archaism makes contact with the tactility of the most up to date mediums. And if writing with light began by imitating drawing, as analog photography itself becomes an archaic medium, drawing will aspire to the condition of the photograph, not as a projective representation, but rather as a resemblance produced by contact, like a life cast or death mask, an image not made by human hands, a relic like the stain on a shroud." Michael Newman, "The Marks, Traces, and Gestures of Drawing," in *The Stage of Drawing: Gesture and Act,* ed. Catherine De Zegher and Avis Newman (New York: Tate Publishing and Drawing Center, 2003), 105.

10. Thomas Lamarre, "Manga Bomb: Between the Lines of *Barefoot Gen,*" in *Comics Worlds and the World of Comics,* ed. Jaqueline Berndt, 263–307 (Kyoto: International Manga Research Center, 2010).

11. I follow here the understanding of "cartoon" covering both comics and animation, and manga as cartoon, manga-film, and when it refers to animation and print comics. See Lamarre, "Manga Bomb," 280–81.

12. See particularly Lamarre, "Manga Bomb," 280–84. There is an extended literature on the outline—an inquiry that formed part of my PhD dissertation, *Doubling in a Practice of Animation* (London: Central Saint Martins College of Art & Design, 2005)—including an interesting account on figuration generated through something different and inaccessible to what it constitutes: the line. Between the inside and outside of the figure (the outline or contour is seen as a "tracing") one sees either the line or figuration. We might find this typical for animation, when one sees either the line or the figure. See Jacques Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins,* trans. Pascale-Anne Brault, Michael Naas, and David B. Allison (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 54.

13. Quoted in Lamarre, "Manga Bomb," 282.

14. Ibid., 286.

15. On the quality of movement, time structures, turbulent flows, cinematic movement, and the flip-book, see Uriel Orlow, "Flicker, Blink, and Time: Towards the Zero Degree of Movement," in Verina Gfader, *Adventure-Landing: A Compendium of Animation* (Berlin: Revolver, 2011): 238–46. Paul Virilio: "Be neither a One nor a Many, but multiplicities! Form a line, never a point! Speed transforms the point into a line." Quoted in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *On the Line,* trans. John Johnston (New York: Semiotext(e), 1983), 57.

16. De Zegher, "A Century under the Sign of Line," 65. Clark quoted in Guy Brett, "Lygia Clark: The Borderline between Art and Life," *Third Text* 1 (1987): 67.

17. Rolnik quoted in de Zegher, "A Century under the Sign of Line," 65.

18. De Zegher, "A Century under the Sign of Line," 65.

19. This assemblage of three artists, and their common practices is recognized in *3 x Abstraction: New Methods of Drawing: Hilma af Klint, Emma Kunz, Agnes Martin,* ed. Catherine de Zegher and Hendel Teicher (New York: The Drawing Center and New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005).

20. Agnes Martin, quoted in de Zegher and Teicher, *3 x Abstraction,* 32.

21. Christopher Kelty and Hannah Landecker, "A Theory of Animation: Cells, L-Systems, and Film," *Grey Room* 17 (Fall 2004): 57.

22. Deleuze and Guattari, *On the Line,* 69–72.

23. Deguchi Takehito, quoted in Verina Gfader, "Subanimation: Verina Gfader in Conversation with Takehito Deguchi and Koji Yamamura," *Animation: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 6, no. 1 (March 2011): 62.

CHRISTINE L. MARRAN

The Metamorphic and Microscopic in Tezuka Osamu's Graphic Novels

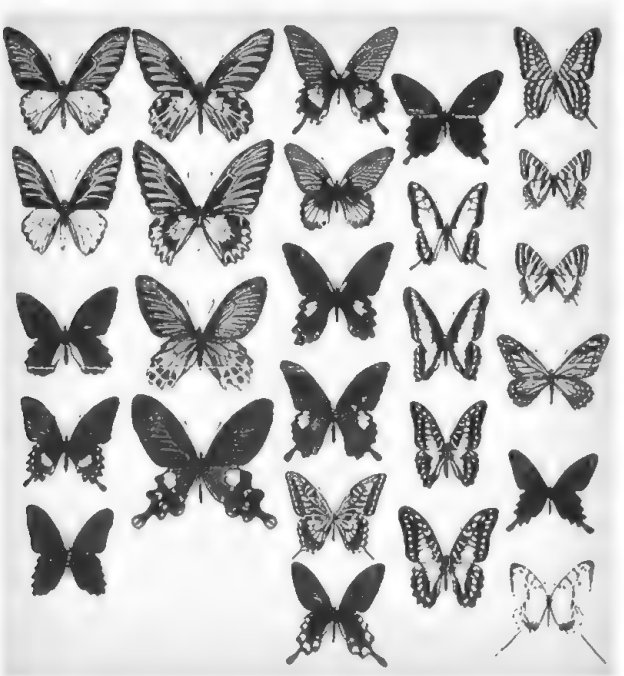
INSECTS

Tezuka Osamu's youthful interest in insects is legendary. Fellow bug lover and animator Kobayashi Junji has documented the various butterflies, moths, beetles, and even cockroaches that appear in Tezuka's long history of comic artistry. According to Kobayashi, Tezuka has drawn in his manga at least twenty-seven different types of butterflies, thirteen species of *orthoptera* such as locusts and grasshoppers, eight different flies and fleas, twenty kinds of beetles of the *coleoptera* order, four species of mayflies, seven instances of *hemiptera* and dragonflies, eleven *hymenoptera* including bees and ants, four kinds of cockroaches and termites, and a few spiders and centipedes who were made to play villainous roles. Tezuka drew many of these insects in anthropomorphic form. His fairytale "*Biiko-chan*" (Little Bee) is a predictable fable of a small bee saved by her hive mates from a spider whose black body and long nose have a striking similarity to Disney's witch in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937, dir. William Cottrell et al).

But in so many cases Tezuka retained for his insects, especially butterflies, a more naturalist form. His depictions in manga of butterflies like the

grayling, the great purple emperor, or *heliconius erato,* are reminiscent of his teenage technical sketches of beetles, winged ants, ladybugs, and stink bugs.[1] Hardly an anthropomorphic butterfly can be found in his works. One manga from his series on the insect collector Insector, for example, juxtaposes cartoonish human figures with detailed drawings of *heliconius* butterflies. Insects themselves were, according to Kobayashi Junji, the source for Tezuka's philosophy of animation.[2] Tezuka once claimed that "the appeal of animation is that metamorphosis is such an important element of it." Kobayashi, who animated with Tezuka for twenty years, suggests that Tezuka sensed the affinity between insects, who transform to achieve maturation, and animation, which he characterized as based in metamorphosis.[3]

Insect collecting has long been a passion in Japan, despite the increasing loss of habitat, and the boys who practice it are called "insect boys" (*konchū shōnen*). Tezuka considered himself such a youth. The Tezuka Osamu Manga Museum in his hometown of Takarazuka features a photograph of Tezuka



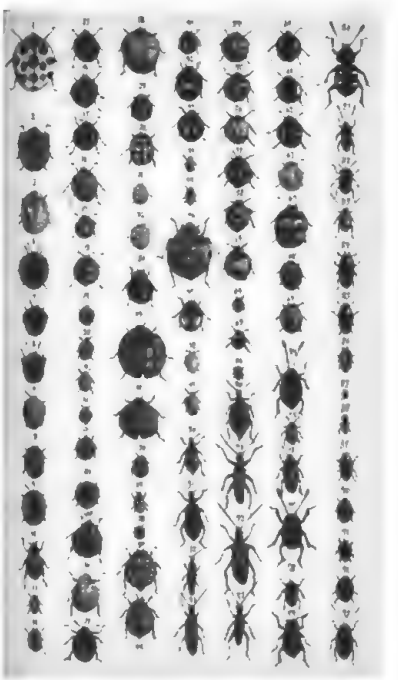


FIGURE 1 (LEFT). Butterfly sketches Tezuka made as a teen on the back of photographic paper, in Tezuka Osamu and Kobayashi Junji, *Tezuka Osamu konchu zukan* (Field guide to Osamu Tezuka's insects) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1998). Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved. **FIGURE 2 (RIGHT).** Insect sketches by Tezuka as a youth, in Tezuka Osamu and Kobayashi Junji, *Tezuka Osamu konchu zukan* (Field guide to Osamu Tezuka's insects) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1998). Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

FIGURE 3 (LEFT). From "Insector: Scent of Death on the Butterfly Path," a short story from *Suspicion*, a manga by Osamu Tezuka and also the name of one of his books in Kodansha's line of *Osamu Tezuka Manga Complete Works*. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved. **FIGURE 4 (RIGHT).** From "Insector: Scent of Death on the Butterfly Path," a short story from *Suspicion*, a manga by Osamu Tezuka and also the name of one of his books in Kodansha's line of *Osamu Tezuka Manga Complete Works*. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

dressed in the uniform of the insect hunter: khakis, a white button-up shirt, and a beige hat. He holds the requisite butterfly net and has an insect cage handle slung over his belt. Above the photo is a quote attributed to Tezuka, a textbook example of the causative verb that carries dual translational possibilities: *Shizen ga boku ni manga o kakaseta* ("Nature made me draw manga" or "Nature allowed me to draw manga"). Indeed Tezuka describes the eyes of his human characters as inspired by bug eyes. But Tezuka might have just as easily claimed that manga allowed him to draw *nature*. The nature he ultimately chose to draw did not take the form of his early depictions of insect bodies lined up in neat vertical rows on a page according to *Linneaus* classification, a

TEZUKA, AS A MATURE ARTIST, ABANDONED THE SCIENTIFIC AESTHETIC OF COLLECTION, EXAMINATION, AND PAINSTAKING MIMETIC DRAWING OF NATURE FOR THE PLASMATICITY OF THE GRAPHIC NOVEL.

revelation of scientific order so detailed in their drawing that many claimed they looked like photographs. Neither was the nature he ultimately drew that of spermatozoic cells of pond snails and other microscopic objects Tezuka researched during his medical training. Tezuka, as a mature artist, abandoned the scientific aesthetic of collection, examination, and painstaking mimetic drawing of nature for the plasmaticity of the graphic novel.

SACRED SITES

Graphic novels, for their capacity to allow for the bending and stretching of morphologies and line, can generate visually a sense of corporeal possibility. Scholar of animation and aesthetics Thomas Lamarre, following Eisenstein's concept of plasmaticness in animation, calls this capacity for elastic deformation and transformation "plasmaticity."[4] This malleability in form enables animated characters to oscillate between humanoid and animal being, and a similar claim can be made for the characters in graphic novels. Plasmaticity makes possible a visual and narrative rendering of nonhumanist ontologies because the medium enables the representation of life beyond anthropomorphic design. Tezuka, the manga artist, takes advantage of the plasticity of the graphic form to bring to life anthropomorphic animals and zoomorphic humans. Nevertheless, the narrative world he creates is dominated by assertions of absolute species difference and human dominion. Scholar Yomota Inuhiko has drawn attention to the conflict that abounds among humans and the panoply of nonhumans, including robots and animals, that populate Tezuka's imaginative world. As Yomota suggests, it is this proximate morphological difference among beings that proves the source of the narrative conflict in Tezuka's worlds. Regarding the manga *Ambassador Atom* (1952, *Atom taishi*), Yomota writes: "this *infinite proximity* between humans and extraterrestrials in *Ambassador Atom* is what propels the humans' persistent discrimination and exclusion of extraterrestrials, in their struggle to maintain terrestrial order and to confirm their human identity."[5] Humans achieve their human identity through the exclusion of others who may be similar to humans but are not humanoid.

These excluded bodies—especially animal bodies—bravely endure the anthropocentric tendencies of human civilization, which inevitably destroy nonhumans. It is not just that morphological difference causes humans to be prejudiced against them but that human behaviors *cause* transformations, deformations. Tezuka's frequent portrayal of the animal as inevitably sacrificed

THE REJECTION OF THE SICK AND UNRECOGNIZABLE IS A CONTINUAL REFRAIN IN TEZUKA'S WORKS.

to human narcissism and struggles for power is starkly depicted in Tezuka's sixth story of *Metamorphoze: Story of a Sacred Site* (May 1976) in which advanced human war technology causes the deformation of bodies and disruption of the avian world.[6] "Sacred Site" depicts a large bullying bird Goz, who shows a tiny finch a "sacred place" he has found in the woods. He goes there to roll in the sand because it causes his body to transform. He is strengthened by the change. What Goz cannot read is a sign warning the literate (humans) to "Keep Out: Contaminated Site." Goz's "sacred site" turns out to be a contaminated chemical weapons site, once a war weapons facility. It is littered with the bodies of dead animals. The finch who had hoped to strengthen himself through metamorphosis says to Goz, "Can you really metamorphose here? . . . Everyone is dead! Everyone swelled up and died!" The finch flees. The metamorphosis that Goz seeks at the sacred site has killed them. Goz, who nested frequently at the site to take advantage of the transformative strength it gave him, eventually goes mad. Poisoned by the contaminated sand, his thin bird body grows hypermuscular, and he becomes excessively aggressive. He is, as the finch warns him, "no longer bird."[7]

While the birds eject Goz from their tree out of a justifiable fear of his power, the rejection of the sick and unrecognizable is a continual refrain in Tezuka's works. The unrecognizable body, the contaminated one who "is no longer bird," for example, is inevitably jettisoned from the community. This is particularly evident in Tezuka's manga *Ode to Kirihito* (1970–71, *Kirihito sanka*). This lament in manga form features a persistently persecuted half-man, half-dog hybrid character. This dog-faced man was once a purely humanoid young doctor, who, in his efforts to cure a strange disease that so deforms its victims that they look like canine-humanoids, becomes infected with it himself. He undergoes a slow metamorphosis from human to canine-human hybrid and with this physical change becomes an object of scorn. Despite his learning, his rational mind, the help he has offered others in his capacity as doctor, Kirihito is never able to overcome the discrimination he faces after his physical transformation. Confronting such prejudice, Kirihito can only lament his in-between state of being neither fully man nor animal. To Kirihito, his animal shell means that his interior reason cannot be heard. After being enslaved in a freak show, Kirihito cries out from his cage, "How cruel of them to use such learned men in their freak show . . . I am a human being!" The doctor, who sets out to prove the Monmow disease is not a virus passed among nonwhites as the global medical rumor has it, goes to Inugamizawa or "Dog-God Marsh" in

the mountains of Tokushima prefecture. The later appearance of a dog-faced nun, who was originally Caucasian before becoming canine, further confounds attempts to explain the disease as a virus of nonwhites. Kirihito eventually learns that other victims of the disease are miners who had been exposed to or had drunk toxic water that was released during excavations. Tezuka's portrait of dog-faced men huddled in an African mine is similarly a visual lamentation at the prejudice that would racialize a disease that is the result of ravaging mining practices. Tezuka's graphic novel treats Kirihito's metamorphosis as an existential dilemma perpetrated by an anthropocentric society that is so overwhelmed by the visual evidence of difference that it cannot see that its own environmental contamination has caused that deformation.

The curious irony is the insistent, unsympathetic perspective of Kirihito toward animals. Even Kirihito's capacity to exercise reason in order to prove that the Monmow disease is not a virus but a result of environmental contamination does little to convince other humans to treat him with respect, and Kirihito's resentment only deepens his insistence on his humanity and distance from the animal world, even as he violently craves raw meat. The canine-man comes to hate his physical urges. His desire for acceptance by a prejudiced human community gets articulated repeatedly through his critique of animals as inferior. Consequently, while *Ode to Kirihito* laments the barbarism of humanity, it champions the return to purely human morphology as the only way out of speciesist and racial prejudice. Kirihito's physical difference means that he will perpetually be exiled from the human community, and his insistent claim for reason based on species difference (that he is *human* and not *animal*) ironically means his continued exclusion from human society. Tezuka's critique of humanity in *Ode to Kirihito* is its lament that such an exuberant humanity cannot see beyond physical characteristics. Nevertheless, through Kirihito's own attitude toward his canine appearance, the animal is considered inferior in a familiar myth of enlightenment thinking that worships human rationalism above all else. The doctor, with his rational mind, is a pitiable figure because he carries the misfortunate weaknesses of animal passions in a body that invites prejudice. Kirihito's dilemma is that his excellent brain is trapped in an animal body.

Two volumes of Tezuka's magnum opus, *Phoenix* (volumes 10 and 11), feature another dog-faced man, Inugami.[8] This protagonist's deformation is not the result of environmental contaminants but war. At the start of the volume entitled "Sun, part 1," a young man caught on the battlefield of the Chinese enemy in the seventh century has the skin carved from his face by enemy soldiers who then place a skinned wolf's head on his raw face. The wolf's head becomes

permanently adhered to his skin. The young man is not able to remove the face pelt and must live as a half-human, half-dog figure on the margins of the human world. This multiply named, cross-species character, originally from the Korean Kingdom of Baekje and member of the defeated clan Buyeo Pung, is forced to flee to the island Yamato after his defeat on the continent. While Inugami ("Dog-God") is able to find a position in Japan through his sympathetic rescue of a Yamato commander, he remains an outsider not merely for his rejection of political and religious orthodoxy, but for his face.

Inugami's attendant is an old woman from Baekje with healing powers. She insists that he follow his lord's dictates by accepting the "tides of history" and directing his people away from faith in native gods who appear as animal–human crossbreeds. She insists, too, that he relinquish his love for a female dog-spirit Marimo since, as she insists, he is not an animal. Inugami refuses and cries out his love for the dog-spirit Marimo. In this forlorn cry, he cries out not just for a dog but for a community of shape-shifters—forest spirits capable of metamorphosis either by adopting a fully animal form or of transforming themselves into hybrid, pointy-eared humanoids. The jealous old woman makes a final demand: "You must choose . . . Between me or the female wolf! And if you choose her, I will have nothing to do with you from this day on!" The jealous attendant's passion drives her, as it does Kirihito, to enforce a rigid distinction between animals and humans. Meanwhile, although Inugami accepts the shape-shifters as his rational equal, he is not averse to sacrificing animals to protect the human villagers under his watch. Lord Inugami puts oxen in the front line in battle, tying them to spiked logs and driving them toward enemy forces armed with swords and arrows. Inugami, even as he ties the oxen to their suicidal yokes, still believes that "we humans should be able to stop this Buddhist invasion through rational discussion," to which Tsufu, leader of the Tengu goblins of Mt. Ibuki, replies obliquely, "Lord Inugami . . . I must tell you that there is no longer any hope of that happening."[9]

Curiously, Inugami is not only animal (not human) and deity (not human) but also a foreigner in Yamato. His conversation with the princess suggests that he has an accent. She coyly remarks, "In the language you use, I sense something sophisticated, even elegant." Inugami, in other words, enacts hybrid crossings on a number of levels. He embodies species crossing in his very skin: he is bilingual, he lies with a human of different ethnicity, and he also rejects religious orthodoxy. Furthermore, Inugami rejects his lord's insistence on Buddhism as the only true religion. He wants his people to be able to choose between native religion of animal- and monster-gods and Buddhism, or both.

The human in Tezuka's manga alternately hangs upon reason or devolves into a passionate insistence on absolute species difference. Modernity has brought reason but also barbarity toward nonfamiliar others. Kirihito and Inugami's animal differences that separate them from humans divest them of any power to be considered equal among humans. This continual separation of humans and hybrids in Tezuka's works has led Yomota to ponder why it is "that nonhumans always have to become the object of exclusion in Tezuka's works? Or, to put it differently, why is it that humans cannot maintain even their basic sense of humanity without being continuously designated as such by others? Why is it that the moment this act of designation ceases, humans always lapse into uncontrollable anxiety and eventually chaos?"[10]

Even while Tezuka creates highly plastic characters and a visual resemblance among the humans and nonhumans in terms of scale and line, that visual overlap of human and animal is continually interrupted by narrative assertions of absolute difference. Human rationality is considered superior to all else and becomes the source of anthropocentric pride. The animal hybrid is still the passionate and irrational in a familiar myth of enlightenment thinking despite the potential imagination of species-based hybridity that the plasmatic medium of the graphic novel enables.

CELLS

It is when Tezuka Osamu returns to the microscopic world of nonanthropomorphic drawing that he seems freed from the narrative frame in which the animal body plays the scapegoat to human dominance. In the "Future" volume of *Phoenix* (volume 2), a man named Yamanobe Masato is chosen by the immortal Phoenix to renew life on earth. In order to understand this massive task, he is shrunk to the size of an elementary particle so that he can explore its interior. He remarks to his "Beatrice," the Phoenix bird, how much an elementary particle looks like the sun; how cells look like planets; how the microcosmic world is exactly akin to the macrocosmic galaxy of planets, which, the Phoenix rejoins, "is only a single cell in a living creature," which is the cosmos. In this short interlude, the smallest entity replicates the largest. What this can mean within the oeuvre of Tezuka is hinted at in the work of Gregory Bateson, who writes that what constitutes life in its vitalistic sense is patterns. To understand the world of the living, one must tease out patterns among disparate beings and things, which he calls "patterns which connect."[11] Spirals, of a cat's eye ring, of a conch shell, of a snail's shell, articulate

not proximate differences but immanent affinities. An individual being can even record its own past in its pattern. Bateson's example of this is the conch shell. Like the snail shell, the conch shell carries *prochronism*—its own record of how, in its past, it successively solved a formal problem in pattern formation by growing at the open end, which repeats itself for growth. Bateson went beyond this to draw different orders of affinity. Writing about serial homologies and phylogenic homologies, Bateson compared the crab to the human and the crab to the lobster, respectively, for corresponding sets of relations:

> We could recognize in every leg pieces that corresponded to the pieces in the claw. And in your own body, of course, the same sort of thing is true. Humerus in the upper arm corresponds to femur in the thigh, and radius-ulna corresponds to tibia-fibula; the carpals in the wrist correspond to tarsals in the foot; fingers correspond to toes . . . The parts of a crab are connected by various patterns of bilateral symmetry, of serial homology, and so on. Let us call these patterns within the individual growing crab *first-order connections*. But now we look at crab and lobster and we again find connection by pattern. Call it *second-order connection*, or phylogenetic homology. Now we look at man or horse and find that, here again, we can see symmetries and serial homologies. When we look at the two together, we find the same cross-species sharing of pattern with a difference (phylogenetic homology).[12]

IT IS WHEN TEZUKA OSAMU RETURNS TO THE MICROSCOPIC WORLD OF NONANTHROPOMORPHIC DRAWING THAT HE SEEMS FREED FROM THE NARRATIVE FRAME IN WHICH THE ANIMAL BODY PLAYS THE SCAPEGOAT TO HUMAN DOMINANCE.

Bateson's search for patterns and connections among species and body parts is a dismissal of humanistic thinking because it denies the possibility of absolute difference for any species, including *homo sapiens*.

Tezuka, too, wrote about patterns that connect. As a youth drawing hundreds of insects in perfectly aligned rows, Tezuka was attentive to the tiny differences among the miniscule insect bodies. He expanded on this interest in the detailed research he did as an adult. For his doctoral degree, which he received in 1961, Tezuka studied and wrote about sperm production of the Japanese pond snail or *cipangopaludina malleata*—a garden-variety snail ubiquitous in the rice fields of the Japanese archipelago. In his research of pond snail spermatozoa, Tezuka used electron microscopes for close-up views of sperm cells. The electron microscope allowed a resolution hundreds

THE EXPRESSION OF IDEAL FORM FOR TEZUKA REQUIRES THE MICROSCOPE, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE RELINQUISHING OF ANTHROPOMORPHIC REPRESENTATION, ON THE OTHER.

of thousands times more effective than the optical microscopes he used as a child. He drew detailed depictions of spermatozoid cells of the pond snail for various publications in the late 1950s, including the *Journal of Biophysical and Biochemical Cytology,* and this rehearsal of detail appears in future manga of worlds beyond the threshold of the naked eye's sight.[13] In discussing his pond snail research, Tezuka drew connections among snails and humans, and humans and horses. He suggested that snail sperm is "not much different from that of a human being. They both have nine spiral structures, which are visible when sliced vertically. It is true not only of snails but also of horses and dogs (or any animal). The structure of human sperm membranes can be very easily speculated by examining a snail specimen."[14] If Tezuka uses nonhuman species like the robot and the rabbit to describe the truth of anthropocentrism, he uses the smallest of organisms—the cell, and the insect, to describe the scientific truth of affinities among organisms across a broad spectrum.

Thomas Lamarre is right when he states: "although Tezuka's manga flirt with the production of such an ideal of the transcendent Unity of Life, there is no actual social formation or political arrangement that corresponds to the ideal."[15] Tezuka does not create a social or political world through his ideal. But he does suggest that anthropocentric behavior keeps most nonhuman species from surviving. Even if, as Eisenstein has articulated, plasmaticity enables the expression of ideal to form, lending "itself to animism and pantheism but also to an ideal of Form, as if animation could naturally culminate in an experience of the unity of all life,"[16] Tezuka saves the metamorphosis enabled by the graphic novel medium for the "deformed"—the ill, the perverse, the sick. In Tezuka, anthropomorphic drawing does not create a palette for articulating cross-species affinities.

Rather, the expression of ideal form for Tezuka requires the microscope, on the one hand, and the relinquishing of anthropomorphic representation, on the other. It finds its expression not in the mammalian or amphibious body in Tezuka's works but in the cell body. It is the abstract graphics of the microcosmos that portray idealized form. In *Phoenix,* the sole human survivor, Masato, remarks that an elementary particle looks like the sun, and the Phoenix replies that it looks like the sun and it also *is* a sun—a life force in an indivisible structure. The Phoenix herself metamorphoses into the shape of an elongated female body, both bird and woman, floating invisibly against

bright circular orbs, teaching Masato: "If we move onto another dimension, this whole universe would be no more than one particle. And these together form something like a cell and the cells in turn form another life. . . . From the microcosm to the macrocosm they're all alive."[17] The particle is a sun, and the macrocosm reflects the microcosm. Amid graphic dark panels dotted in large white orbs, Masato becomes immortal to carry on the work of scientist Saruta to revive various mammals decimated by man who is now described by the Phoenix as only "a bacteria" upon the earth. These pitch black frames (*beta*) with their simple white orbs invoking microcosms and macrocosms, are in stark contrast to the highly detailed monumental frames of buildings, architecture, and the world of monumental man-made structures of the apocalyptic tale of *Phoenix* and fascist aesthetics in *Adolf* (1983, *Adolf ni tsugu*).

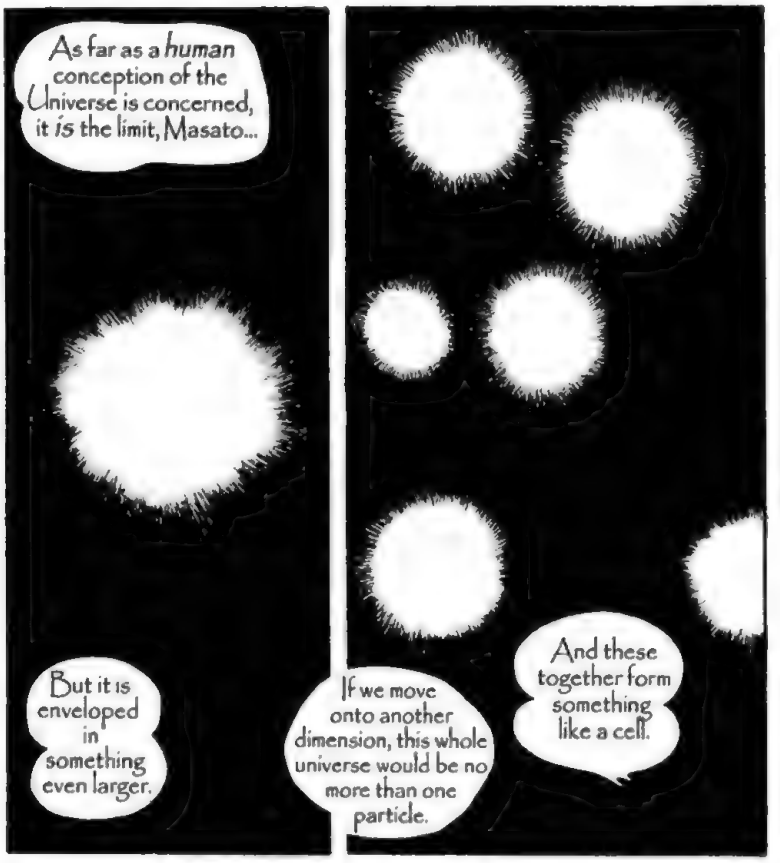

As far as a human conception of the Universe is concerned, it is the limit, Masato...
But it is enveloped in something even larger.
If we move onto another dimension, this whole universe would be no more than one particle.
And these together form something like a cell.

FIGURE 5. Top two panels from Tezuka Osamu. From *Phoenix: A Tale of the Future* (VIZ Media LLC, December 2004), 155. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

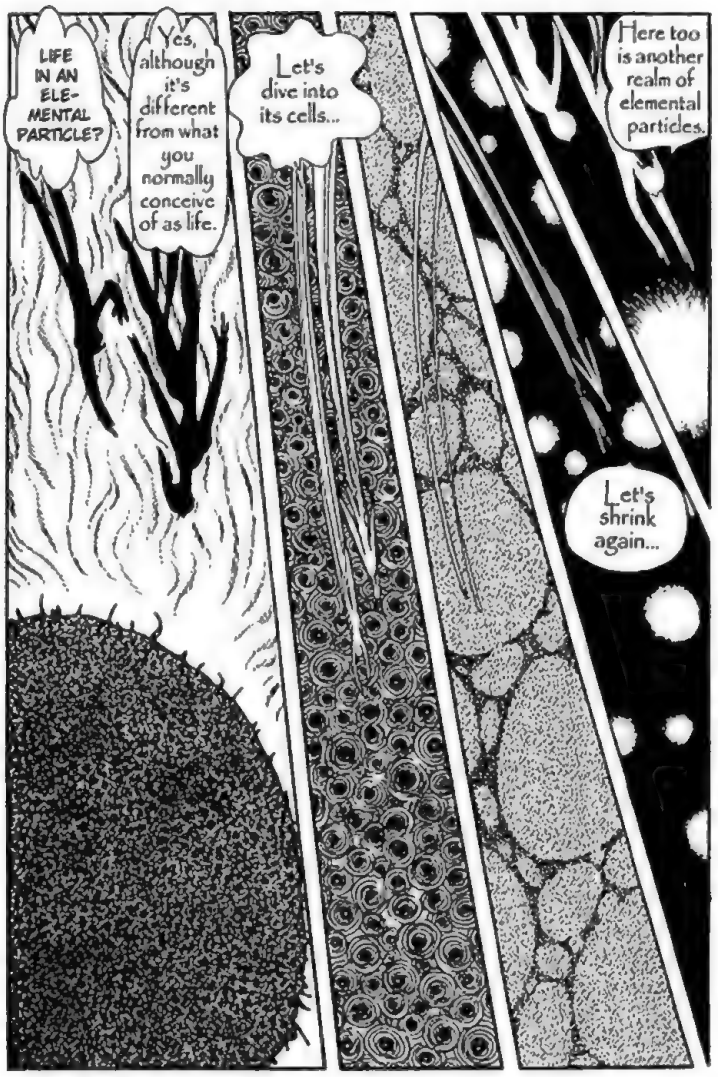

LIFE IN AN ELE-MENTAL PARTICLE?
Yes, although it's different from what you normally conceive of as life.
Let's dive into its cells...
Here too is another realm of elemental particles.
Let's shrink again...

FIGURE 6. Panels from Tezuka Osamu. From *Phoenix: A Tale of the Future* (VIZ Media LLC, December 2004), 152. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

The depiction of affinities among cells and galaxies in later manga and animation may be a result of Tezuka's early insect drawings, in which he painstakingly illustrated affinities among insect bodies. Or his use of formless orbs, cells, and galaxies to articulate nature and life may relate to his observation and illustration of tiny snail spermatozoa as a doctoral student. In either case, it is not as a scientist but as a *mangaka*—a manga writer—that Tezuka ultimately identified not insuperable differences but patterns among organisms.

Notes

1. Kobayashi, who worked with Tezuka for over twenty years, says that he was eager to join Tezuka's company because he was so moved by these early insect drawings.

2. Countless memoirs claim, as testament to Tezuka's deep attachment to collecting and documenting insects, that in the absence of red ink during wartime, Tezuka painted the red of his insect drawings with his own blood. While it may be a matter of taste, a general consensus has emerged that the most fascinating drawings Tezuka ever made were of small insect bodies.

3. Tezuka Osamu and Kobayashi Junji, *Tezuka Osamu konchū zukan* (Field guide to Osamu Tezuka's insects), ed. Tezuka Osamu (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1998), 11.

4. Thomas Lamarre, "Speciesism, Part I: Translating Races into Animals in Wartime Animation," *Mechademia* 3 (2008): 75–95. For part three of this essay, which also discusses plasmaticity, see "Speciesism, Part III: Neoteny and the Politics of Life," *Mechademia* 6 (2011): 110–36.

5. Yomota Inuhiko, "Stigmata in Tezuka Osamu's Works," *Mechademia* 3 (2008): 101.

6. Tezuka Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu kuronikuru* 1968–1989 (Tezuka Osamu chronicles, 1969–1989) (Tokyo: Kōbunsha shinsho, 2011). *Ambassador Atom* is also known in English as *Captain Atom*.

7. Ibid., 236.

8. Tezuka Osamu, *Phoenix* (*Hi no tori*), trans. various, 12 vols. (San Francisco: VIZ Media, 2003–2008).

9. Tezuka Osamu, *Phoenix*, 11:88.

10. Yomota, "Stigmata in Tezuka Osamu's Works," 108–9.

11. Gregory Bateson, *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity* [1979]. http://www.oikos.org/mind&nature.htm.

12. Ibid.

13. Natsu Onada Power points out Tezuka's medical illustrations in *The Journal of Biophysical and Biochemical Cytology* and this section in the graphic novel *Phoenix* to make the point that Tezuka's drawing in the lab when working with an electron microscope influenced later drawing (*God of Comics: Osamu Tezuka and the Creation of Post–World War II Manga* [Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009], 101). Quoted from Tezuka Osamu, *Boku wa mangaka* (I am a manga artist) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1984), 138.

14. Tezuka, *Boku wa mangaka*, 138; Power, *God of Comics*, 101.

15. Lamarre, "Speciesism, Part III," 130.

16. Ibid.

17. Tezuka Osamu, *Phoenix: A Tale of the Future*, trans. Dadakai (San Francisco: Viz Communications, 2002), 150–55.

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Media Life

NATSUME FUSANOSUKE
Translated by Matthew Young

Where Is Tezuka? A Theory of Manga Expression

INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

I am pleased and honored that some of my essays on Tezuka Osamu are appearing in translation in *Mechademia* and will reach readers in the English-speaking world. My thanks to Thomas Lamarre, who requested my participation in this volume.

Because these essays were written some time ago, some prefatory remarks are in order, largely for two reasons. First, these two essays are but two chapters of fifteen from my book *Tezuka Osamu wa doko ni iru* (*Where Is Tezuka Osamu?*), where they took on meaning as a function of the whole. Second, *Chikuma shobō* published the book in June of 1992; in the intervening twenty years manga research in Japan has advanced, and my own understanding has changed. As a consequence, it is necessary to situate this work in light of contemporary developments. I would like briefly to elaborate on these two points to avoid misunderstandings of the work appearing here in translation.

Primarily, this book—my fourth book on manga—was written after Tezuka Osamu's death in 1989. I had previously made efforts to widen the readership for manga criticism by writing pieces intended primarily for

recreational reading. When it came to writing on Tezuka Osamu, whom I highly respected, however, I resolved to write a serious work, and this book was the result.

The book began with a discussion of central motifs of Tezuka's work in the light of his background as a writer—his middle-class upbringing before the war and his wartime experiences at the time of Japan's defeat. I then examined the changes he brought to postwar manga.

A mythologizing discourse characterizing Tezuka as a sort of postwar "god" had already began to take shape in the early 1960s, and this book was in part an attempt to assess the truth of such claims at the level of concrete manga expression. Tezuka's 1946 book *Shin takarajima* (New Treasure Island), based on a story by Sakai Shichima, is often characterized as the work that introduced "cinematic techniques" to manga, reforming postwar manga. Was this actually true? If so, how was it possible? These questions were taken up in chapter 3 of the book, which appears here in translation as "A Revolution in Panels?"

In addition, I considered how Tezuka's manga inherited a modernism characteristic of the prewar middle class, which for me raised basic questions of modernity. Chapter 7, appearing here as "Tezuka's Eyes," takes up such questions. This chapter continued in the vein of my writings on manga from the 1980s, in which I attempted to produce criticism that was visually interesting for readers by producing my own manga drawings. The argument thus developed in an intuitive and figurative manner to some extent. Its logic may appear rather discontinuous in comparison to certain standards for objective scholarly argumentation.

As I have a background as a manga artist, I often focus on concrete aspects of manga expression such as panel composition, qualities of lines in drawings, and semiotic conventions. I call theory that approaches manga from such an angle "theory of manga expression." Such an approach has had a greater impact on manga commentary in Japan than I would have imagined, encouraging a number of subsequent writers to publish "theories of manga expression." Naturally, a great deal of criticism has arisen in response, particularly from a new generation of researchers, and I have endeavored to participate in these debates that have thoroughly transformed manga theory in Japan.

Let me turn now to the second point. In the context of debates as to whether *Shin takarajima* constitutes the basis for innovation in Tezuka's manga, some scholars later argued that we should instead pay attention to his 1947 work, *Chiteikoku no kaijin* (The mysterious underground man). Today I find this idea persuasive. Ending as it does with the death of one of its main

characters, this work reminds us that Tezuka considered it his achievement to have introduced "tragedy" into manga.

In the chapter on *Shin takarajima,* I sketched the history of manga in Japan from the Meiji period, focusing on the development of manga with multiple panels. I must say, however, that when I wrote this chapter, I was not all that knowledgeable about manga history, and looking back on it today, I find that my understanding was inaccurate. I wrote, for instance, that until the 1880s, manga with multiple panels were not common in Japan, but this is not the case. Please bear in mind that this chapter does not contain entirely reliable historical descriptions. I would be grateful if you would read it as, ultimately, a work of theoretical speculation.

The question I tried to address in that chapter was: What forms of expression of time and movement does panel layout enable? Today we would surely need to look at this question in a world-historical perspective, reconsidering the currents in comics from Rodolphe Töpffer's work in nineteenth-century Europe to American comic strips, as well as their impact in Japan.

The chapter "Tezuka's Eyes" puts forth the hypothesis that the white highlights in the eyes of Tezuka's characters are indicative of "self-consciousness." Such a hypothesis immediately invites potential counterarguments, of course: earlier examples of eyes drawn with highlights can be found in warrior prints (*musha-e*) of Yoshitoshi in the Bakumatsu period, and we cannot claim that "self-consciousness" is inexpressible in eyes that lack highlights. Nevertheless, if we look back over Tezuka Osamu's career, changes in how he draws eyes, such as the introduction of highlights, seem to parallel transformations in his art as he sought to convey subtle emotional and psychological states through facial expressions. Moreover, attention to eyes focuses our attention both on the images reflected upon eyes and at the same time on the window into "interiority" possessed by characters. In *The Spirit,* for instance, Will Eisner draws "subjective images" that are seen from the character's eyes, which at the same time evoke the inner psychology of the subject. Such considerations lead directly to questions about "viewing positions" or "lines of sight" in manga, an important topic in manga theory in Japan today.

At the time I wrote this book, my interests generally centered on postwar Japanese manga, and the scope of my inquiry was almost entirely limited to Japan. If we were to consider European and American influences on manga from the Meiji period, the discussion in this book on transformations related to time and panel articulation would link to world-historical questions of modernity (changes in the expression of time and space in modern times).

I later learned that Scott McCloud's *Understanding Comics* (1993) was

published around the same time as this book, and that similar theoretical research was being done on panel layout in France as well. Future research will surely depend on sharing knowledge and intellectual exchanges between scholars in different countries. Nothing would please me more than if these translations contributed to the spurring of such exchanges.

Tokyo, April 30, 2012

A REVOLUTION IN PANELS?

In the previous chapter, I discussed how the introduction of panel divisions allowed time to be expressed freely in manga. Or rather such was my conclusion. Although such a development may appear evident in hindsight, it could only be discovered through practice, through the gradual expansion of forms of manga expression.

Long before the use of panels to express time, the division of drawings into multiple panels was in itself a major breakthrough. The use of panels alone was fresh and startling. Panel sequences were not very common in Japan until the late nineteenth century. Most works consisted of a single panel. In *Manga no rekishi* (1991, A history of manga), Shimizu Isao reminds us that, although Charles Wirgman published some panel manga in a magazine for foreigners living in the Yokohama settlement in 1868, Japanese audiences were not introduced to panel manga until 1881.[1] The satirical manga of Georges Ferdinand Bigot are characteristic of that era. Figure 1, for instance, shows a day in the life of a government official, divided into four consecutive panels. The manga is divided into four scenes, such as arising, eating, and so forth. But is this anything like story manga? Oddly enough, reading the sequence does not generate much meaning. Each panel in the sequence feels rather independent of the others.

The panel manga that became popular in the 1920s and 1930s, however, are very different. (The term, "panel manga," as I am using it here does not include single-panel manga.) Sequences of panels began to depict transitions between disparate events. Formally, panels were simply placed side-by-side, independent of one another. Now, rather than a succession of independent images, the meaning of a drawing arises in relation to the panels coming before and after it. Modulation in the "time" of events becomes arrayed across panels. Unlike Bigot's four-panel works, these panels are not arranged in accordance with uniform time.

To give a detailed account of such transformations here would entail lengthy digression and take us far from the topic at hand, Tezuka Osamu. A general overview will thus have to suffice. Nevertheless, because my account of Tezuka builds on a history of the panel, I have to digress somewhat and hope you will bear with me.

Let me begin with a form that presents a historical transition from the one-panel manga to the panel manga, that is, the "*emonogatari*" or "illustrated tale," in which captions are placed alongside drawings. Yasumoto Ryōichi's *Ikiteita Momotarō* (The Momotarō who lived) provides a good point of reference (Figure 2).[2] The story appears in blocks of texts between the panels. These captions are functionally analogous to the texts in picture scrolls. But the ruled line separating text and drawing makes it modern. Indeed, the use of ruled lines for segmentation is characteristically modern. A drawing is now used to select a particular instant from within the time of the story as written in the captions.

For instance, if the caption describes how the protagonist becomes a monkey trainer, the drawing will depict an instant from a scene in which he has the monkey perform. While the "time" within the panel is stopped on that instant, the time of the story flows on, with the captions providing the glue that holds panels together. In addition, dialogue, that is, the "time" of speaking, is written into the captions. At this stage, time was largely governed through captions, with the panels inserted between them as instants,

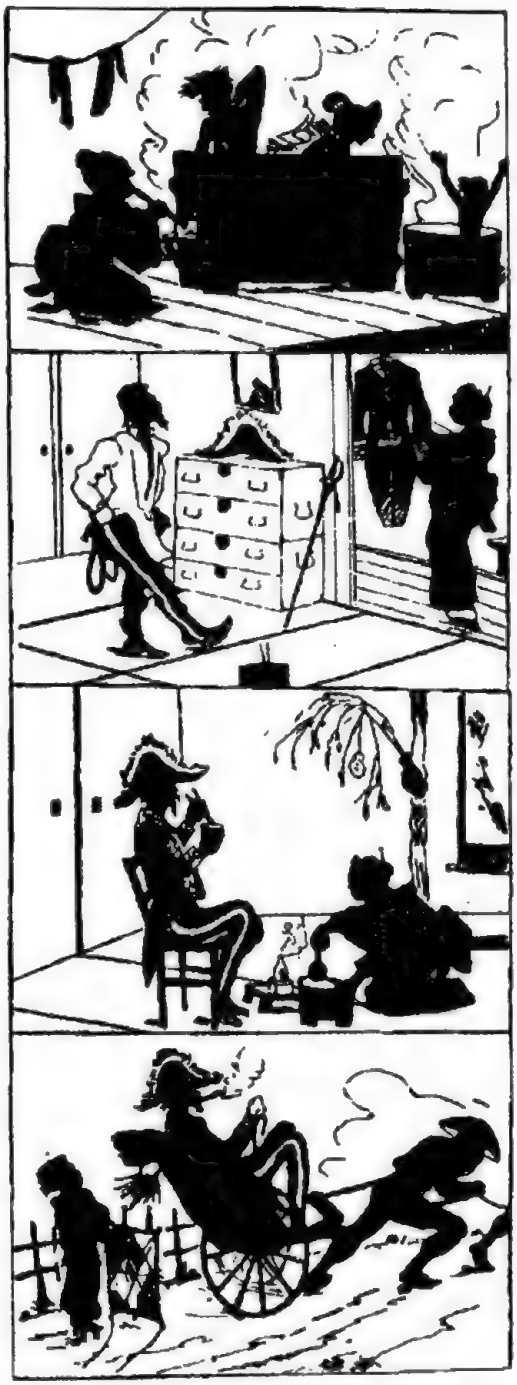


FIGURE 1. Georges Bigot's "New Year's Day in Japan" (*Nihon no gantan*).

FIGURE 2. Yasumoto Ryōichi's *Ikiteita Momotarō*.

but elements of the captions would gradually move into the space of the panels. When the speech of a character entered the panel, for instance, it would take the form of the speech balloon. Words transformed into pictures.

Suppose there is a passage saying, "he casts out the villain." The meaning of those words then enters the panel. In the drawing, it is transformed into motion lines trailing behind the villain being cast out. Or a phrase such as "stomping about" is brought into the panel in the form of signs—clouds of dust behind the feet. As all the captions holding the panels together entered into panels, all the time of the story came to be articulated within drawings, including speech bubbles for dialogue. Thus, through a series of developments, manga drawings generated semiotic expressions for the depiction of "time."

Are you still with me?

The intervals between panels in manga are not mere empty gaps. Actually, at one time, that was the case, but things changed as manga adopted the devices of *emonogatari*. Upon the absorption of words into panels, the interval became a wordless "presence," so to speak. Previously, the words outside the panel governed the drawings inside the panel. Now, on the contrary, the wordless word between panels (that is, time) governs the drawings. For instance, in a panel manga from the early 1930s, Suyama Keiichi's *Sentan gaaru* (Ultra-fashionable girl), the "time" in the intervals between the six panels is not uniform (Figure 3). "Time" expands and contracts according to the meaning of the drawings. The time of the man flirting with the girl is abbreviated across the first two panels, while in contrast the last three panels consist only of the "time" it takes him to go to the bathroom and return. The density of the story in the last three panels is higher than in the first two, however. It becomes thick as the "time" of the reader's consciousness, so to speak. It is the meaning of the drawings and the lines of speech that now determines such effects.

Of course, once manga reached this stage, the interval between panels can in principle incorporate more extreme forms of time. For example, if a panel showing a recently deceased person is followed by one of a skeleton that has wasted away, the interval between the panels conveys the time it took the corpse to decompose, whether we like it or not.

Although I have been brief, I hope I have made clear the process through which panel manga became able to depict transitions between events. I am not saying that things developed historically in this particular order, however. My account is intended as a theoretical description of the development of manga expression.

Once manga panels reached this stage, there was no turning back:

FIGURE 3. Suyama Keiichi's "Ultra-fashionable Girl."

THE FORMATION OF PANELS LEADS TO MULTILAYERED TIME.

depicting time by means of drawings became a given for drawing manga. Such a depiction of time became the basis for the contemporary manga expression. Bit by bit, manga expanded its powers of expression through the development of a broad range of temporal signs: speech balloons, motion lines, clouds of dust, fumes of anger, beads of sweat, and so on. With the collaboration of readers, these signs gradually became standardized and soon appeared natural. They became unconscious givens, and, as new forms of semiotic expression enabled new forms of temporal expression, we eventually reached the point where we are today. If we were to summarize this complex process of accumulation, we might describe it as one in which "the formation of panels leads to multilayered time." Signs of temporality in manga reach the point where they go beyond beads of sweat and tears, that is, "the time of tears flowing," to include changes in angle such as long shots and close-ups. This is how the stream of time in manga becomes multilayered.

Time can then be layered, either tightly or loosely: the time of reading (the speed of the reader stopping on or moving swiftly through panels), the time required to advance the story, and between them, the time generated by the layout of panels. If we draw an analogy with the layers of sound in music, rhythms and harmonies arise between layers.[3]

In the history of manga, Tezuka Osamu is an artist who pushed ahead dramatically with such multilayering. Yet techniques for multilayering the time of panels were already in use before Tezuka Osamu emerged on the scene. While *Shin takarajima* (1946, New Treasure Island), with drawings by Tezuka and script by Sakai Shichima, is often deemed to have created the techniques for story manga by applying cinematic techniques to panels, such an interpretation is misguided for many reasons. As Kure Tomofusa indicates, closer attention to panel and angle shows that artists such as Shishido Sakō, known for *Supiido Tarō* (1930–33, Speed Tarō), were far more innovative.

Take the scene in Figure 4: an oblong panel shows a cable being cut with a knife. Suddenly the angle changes, and there is Tarō floating overhead. A third panel shows the cord snapping, and in the fourth, an object plummets to the ground with a thud. Even Tezuka around the time of *Shin takarajima* was not yet using angles and panels in such a novel way.

When we read this sequence, we read the right half of the page vertically, and then move on to the left half. We do not read panels in such a manner today, but at that time, because conventions for reading order were not yet fully formed, sequences were often read according to numbers affixed to the panels. This system of numbering panels, which still existed when I was a kid,

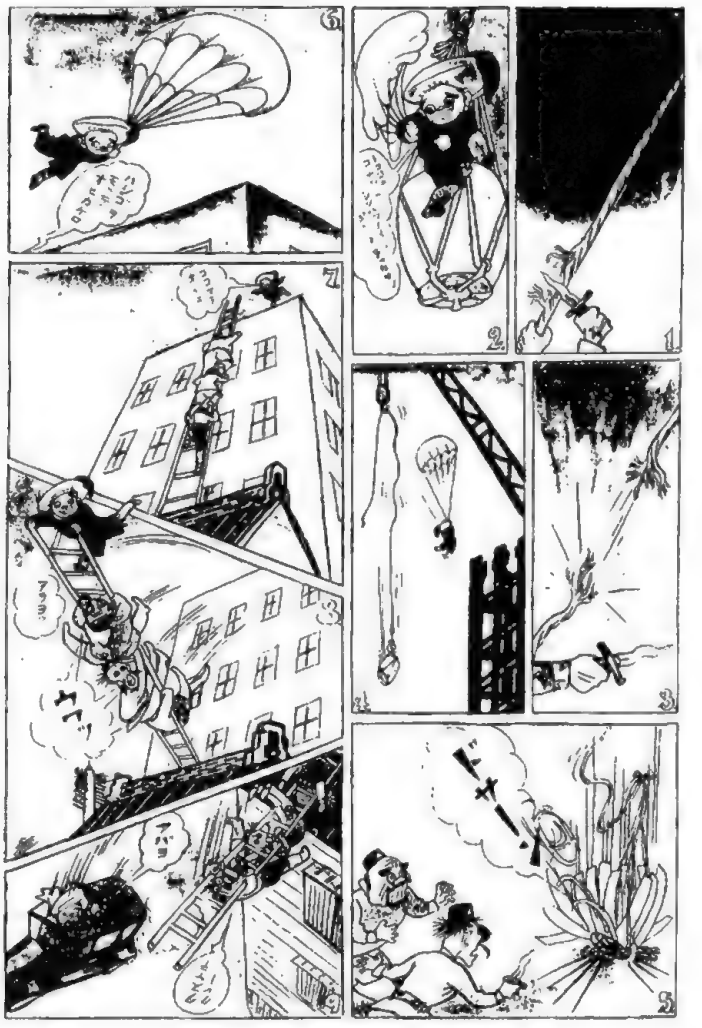


FIGURE 4. Shishido Sakō's *Speed Tarō.*

seems to have died out by the early 1960s. The order for reading panels probably did not become completely standardized until the 1960s.

In any event, in *Supiido Tarō,* Shishido Sakō, who had spent time in America, made full use of exceedingly modern techniques. Apparently, however, his innovations did not have a direct impact on Japanese manga techniques of that era. Works such as Tagawa Suihō's *Norakuro* (1931–81) remained the norm, and their techniques were widely used: with compositions as flat as stage backdrops and panels like tidy rows of boxes; and the viewing position was rigidly fixed. Such was the orthodoxy.

Tezuka's manga, which attracted numerous imitators in the postwar period, can be said to have popularized shifts in viewing position on par with

Supiido Tarō, and yet this does not mean that he reformed everything from the ground up. In other words, Tezuka Osamu was not a god who created it all from nothing. Indeed the panel techniques in *Shin takarajima* do not appear all that innovative. We find more innovative drawings and techniques not only in *Supiido Tarō* but also in works such as *Kasei tanken* (1940, A voyage to Mars), with drawings by Oshiro Noboru and story by Asahi Tarō (Oguma Hideo) (Figure 5). Naturally, we speak with the benefit of hindsight. It is not surprising that *Shin takarajima* would astonish children immediately after the war encountering manga for the first time.

FIGURE 5. Asahi Tarō and Oshiro Noboru's *Expedition to Mars* (1940, *Kasei tanken*).

What especially fueled the Tezuka myth were artists who became pillars of the manga world such as Fujiko Fujio who talked about what a great influence he had been. But we may well ask if this really isn't just a myth. Fujiko Fujio (Abiko Motō) writes of the first time he encountered *Shin takarajima*:

> I definitely heard the sports car's thunderous roar, and choked on the dust clouds stirred up in its wake.
>
> I had never seen manga like this. Two pages of nothing but a car whizzing by. And yet, somehow, it's really exciting [. . .]
>
> It was just like watching a movie![4]

To be honest, reading this manga today, I don't have such an impression at all. Yet if I imagine young readers starved for manga who knew nothing of Shishido Sakō or Oshiro Noboru, such a reaction makes more sense to me. Minamoto Tarō expresses similar impressions and doubts, writing, "If we look at panel layout and composition [. . .], although it [*Shin takarajima*] came some fifteen years later, it comes nowhere near *Supiido Tarō*. The value of *Shin takarajima* surely lies elsewhere."[5]

In other words, it is probably a mistake to attribute the sense of speed in this opening scene to a use of cinematic panel techniques (Figure 6).[6] Doesn't the sense of speed derive instead from the overall feel of the image, from the wealth of motion lines and smoke, the tension of the character leaning forward, the lines of tires crunching, and above all, out of the blue, a two-page spread without dialogue and only a speeding car? This is a matter of the overall feel of the image, regardless of whether it is skillfully executed or not. In this respect, this work may indeed attain a degree of imagistic acuity not found even in artists such as Shishido Sakō and Oshiro Noboru. I may seem to be splitting hairs but, if *Shin takarajima* proved astonishing at the time, was it not due to the overall feel of the image (rather than to innovations in panel layout or the use of different angles), which imparted the "sense of speed" so palpable in the opening scene that derives from all the panels and from the distinctive qualities of its drawings?

To return to our history of manga expression, the overall feel of the image comes of time becoming highly multilayered. An account of only the arrangement of panels and viewing angles cannot explain effects that the qualities of drawing and composition lend to panels. The impact of wordless time between panels is not a direct function of formal innovations in panels. Although I cannot agree that *Shin takarajima* was truly innovative in terms of its panels, I wish to make clear that the power of manga to move and astonish readers is

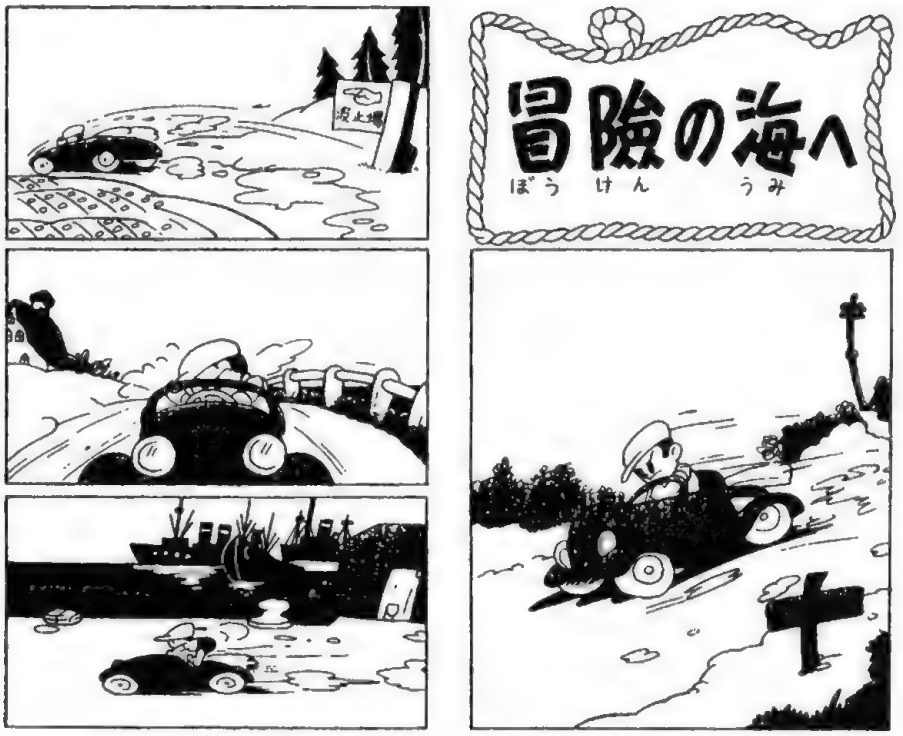


FIGURE 6. The first two pages of the opening scene from *New Treasure Island* as reproduced in Jun Manga.

not a direct function of panel techniques, angles, and such. This may seem a trivial, even laughable point. But an analysis of the relation between drawings and panels is exceedingly difficult.

The overall sense and force of the image achieved by Tezuka probably stemmed from a very different set of demands than those faced by Shishido Sakō. Careful consideration of the nature of those demands is surely the key to an analysis of what Tezuka brought to postwar manga.

TEZUKA'S EYES

From before the war to immediately after, eyes in children's manga were just black spots like lumps of coal. For readers today, they appear as lacking in expression as empty holes. The versions of popular manga characters in Figure 7 surely make the point clear. Eyes were rendered simply as black spots or circles with dots inside. They remained passive entities, taking on varied expression through the use of eyebrows, beads of sweat, tears, and such. In the early 1950s, in the heyday of monthly manga magazines, even in the work

FIGURE 7. From right: *Norakuro* by Tagawa Suihō (Shōwa 6–16), *Tanku Tankurō* by Sakamoto Gajō (Shōwa 9–11), *Fushigi no kuni no Pucchaa* by Yokoi Fukujirō (Shōwa 21–23), *Igaguri-kun* by Fukui Eiichi (Shōwa 27–29).

of Tezuka's rival, Fukui Eichi, the eyes look like tunnels with shutters on top. Generally eyes are open wide with a vacant expression, but, sometimes to express determination, they are shut tight, looking rather like a cluster of pine needles. And that is as expressive as they get.

A panel from Tezuka Osamu's *Nextworld* (1951, *Kurubeki sekai*) in Figure 8 shows a group of four kids looking at a girl wearing a determined expression. Each of the characters appears with a distinct, individualized expression. Note how the eyes are drawn to convey such distinctive facial expressions. The eyes and eyelashes of both girls form curlicues like the hiragana の. The eyebrow of the determined girl arches high, and there is a point of light in her eye. The eyes are larger in size relative to her face. The eyebrows of the timid girl are lower, and her eyes are double-lidded like a doll. These subtle differences in drawing convey differences in their personalities.

FIGURE 8. *Nextworld* (*Kurubeki sekai*).

What is important here is not a mere technical development enabling one to draw multiple characters in distinct ways. What is so strikingly expressed in these characters is self-conscious existence. Historically, Tezuka is introducing a drama of self-consciousness into postwar manga expression. From around the early 1950s, Tezuka would use the character Hyōtantsugi or "poisonous mushroom" (commonly translated as Gourdski in English) to express a self-conscious exposure of self-consciousness.

Why?

Tezuka's sense of self-consciousness arrived too early for the genre of postwar manga. As such, he had no choice but to stage this self-consciousness by himself for himself. Manga as a genre would awaken to self-consciousness later, from the late 1960s. About the time when the first postwar generation, the main constituent of manga readers, reached adolescence and then began to write manga themselves, manga began to show tendencies deemed characteristic of adolescence, such as self-deprecation and exaggeration of flaws.

As an experiment, in the top half of Figure 9, I have applied the prewar style of lumps of coal for eyes to Tezuka characters. Even putting a series of such figures together in a single panel does not produce any effect. It feels utterly flat.[7] In contrast, as the bottom half of Figure 9 shows, when we apply Tezuka-style eyes to characters such as Tanku Tankurō and Igaguri-kun, they seem to have suddenly awoken to self-consciousness. The effect is unpleasant. The awakening to self-consciousness of adolescence is generally an unstable and unpleasant affair. There is a tendency to brood incessantly over things, which, to use rather old-fashioned language, implies an "unmanly" or "effeminate" state. Even "manly" characters such as Tanku Tankurō and Igaguri-kun appear "effeminate" when you draw them with the Tezuka-style light in their eyes. Even though Igaguri-kun is sweating with tension before a match in the original drawing, he ends up looking somehow self-conscious and fearful.

Tezuka's eyes appear "effeminate" insofar as they bring self-consciousness to manga. This may even be said to characterize Tezuka as an artist. Stars and points of light within characters' eyes epitomize Tezuka-style self-consciousness. They do not work at all for characters in manga that exclusively feature big-hearted, high-spirited boys. The drawing of Rock with Igaguri-kun's eyes makes this perfectly clear (bottom half of Figure 9). Of course, stars are not found in all of Tezuka's characters' eyes. But, however absurd something like Tanku Tankurō with Tezuka eyes may appear, such drawings really make the Tezuka-like quality stand out. If we erase the stars, however, Tezuka's characters don't look all that different from the others.

Why do stars make such a difference?

It is because their light is that of "inner" self-consciousness, switched on within those lumps of coal. It feels as if there is something overflowing from the "interior" of each individual character. When a series of such characters, each with its own individuality, comes together, the scene takes on depth due to the disparity between these individualities—it becomes three-dimensional. Tezuka excelled at such scenes. Even in his drawings of mob scenes, each of the figures asserts something of their own and something together.

He also developed what he called a "star system," treating his characters as if they were movie actors. Characters such as Acetylene Lamp, Ham Egg, Shunsaku Ban, Mason, Rock Holmes, and others "perform" in different works in different roles (Figure 10). Like actors, they have their own personality and strength as performers. This system, which is highly complex compared to manga before Tezuka, was made possible by Tezuka's ability to draw facial expressions. In early Tezuka works, self-conscious characters overflow with jubilant vitality (*eros*), and his stars play their roles with liveliness from within. Of course, they are filled with contradictions and inner turmoil.

FIGURE 9. A reproduction of Tezuka's characters, Tanku Tankurō, and Igaguri-kun, with eyes swapped. From top: Tezuka characters' faces with charcoal for eyes, Tanku Tankurō and Igaguri-kun with Tezuka eyes, Rock with Igaguri-kun eyes.

Among the series of drawings of Acetylene Lamp in Figure 11, the one on the top left is quite obviously poorly executed. This is because it is not Tezuka's drawing. Almost all manga books at that time (1948) were produced using the *kakihan* technique in which prints of manga were made from plates traced from the original drawings. Tezuka later became very concerned about this. Such a process of printing could not convey the subtlety of line, and without such subtlety, the expressiveness of eyes, for instance, was lost. He indeed had cause for concern, since he was at that time already drawing quite subtle facial expressions that proved difficult to reproduce with this process. Nonetheless,

デビュー作『ナスビ女王』でのメイスン

『フィルムは生きている』での佐々木小次郎

『大洪水時代』で共演するヒゲオヤジとランプ

『ケン１探偵長』でのケン一

『ベニスの商人』でのロック

FIGURE 10. Tezuka's stars. Shunsaku Ban and Lamp co-star in *The Age of the Deluge* (*Daikōzui no jidai*), Kojirō Sasaki in *The Film Lives On* (*Firumu wa ikiteiru*), Mason makes his debut in *Queen Nasubi*, Rock in *The Merchant of Venice*, Kenichi in *Chief Detective Kenichi*.

because there is light within his eyes, this drawing of Lamp is better than it might have been. Such a drawing may be somewhat easier to do with Lamp, simply because his eyes are bigger.

Even the rather small selection of drawings in Figure 11 demonstrates Tezuka's ability to create truly rich and subtle facial expressions: arrogance, fear, a silent, scheming gaze, and so forth. He thus was able to conjure up an entire scene in a single wordless panel. Prior to Tezuka, such psychological complexity had to be expressed with words, with speech or commentary. If we look at the light in Lamp's eyes with this in mind, it is the very symbol of inner consciousness. Thus the goggle-eyed Lamp became an indispensable supporting actor in Tezuka's works, performing a variety of roles, from ruthless villain to minor coward, from escaped convict to Nazi.

From the 1970s, however, Tezuka's manga characters underwent a dramatic generational transformation, and Lamp and many other famous players appeared less frequently. Those who survived were transformed, from round manga-like figures with heads one-quarter their body height, to *gekiga*-like

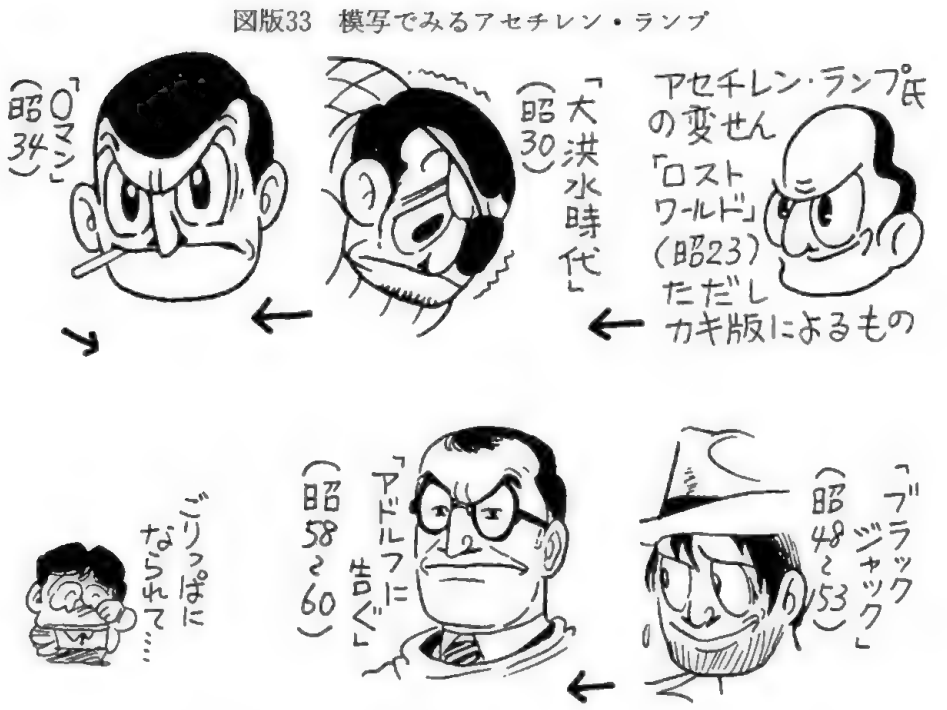


FIGURE 11. Reproductions of Acetylene Lamp. From top right: Transformations in the drawing of Acetylene Lamp, In *Lost World* (Shōwa 23) printed using *kakihan* technique, *The Age of the Deluge* (Shōwa 30), *Zero Man* (Shōwa 34), *Black Jack* (Shōwa 48–53), *Adolf* (Shōwa 58–60), "The drawings became so great . . ."

figures with heads one-eighth their body height. In *Adolf* (1983–85, *Adorufu ni tsugu*), Lamp's eyes became compressed to *gekiga* size.

The same happened to the character of Tezuka Osamu (Figure 12). As another instance of "self-consciousness ahead of its time," the character of a manga artist named Tezuka Osamu appears in Tezuka's works, playing a sort of slapstick role, "reminiscent of Chaplin and Keaton who performed in their own productions."[8] Slapstick is used to foil the reader's conscious expectations, to throw the reader off balance, or to put it another way, it recalls the exposure of self-consciousness, which is a form of "play." In other words, the slapstick Tezuka with huge glasses and eyes takes on the same role as Gourdski. Gourdski, however, appeared less and less frequently, and likewise Tezuka came to assume *gekiga*-like proportions. His eyes, which earlier swelled to fill his glasses, shrank to a more moderate size. Eventually the eyes in his self-portraits adopted an "ancestral" form in *Kidamari no ki* (1981–86, Tree in the sun), turning into *gekiga* eyes drawn with fine lines. Why is it that these eyes, which appeared to be such important "symbols of self-consciousness," ended up becoming small?

Even after the 1970s, at least on the surface, Tezuka continued to believe in the "interior" harbored deep within the eyes that sustained dramas of self-consciousness. Yet the actual lines of his drawings seem to tell a different story. Artists can control some aspects of their lines intentionally, but others they cannot. It is difficult for an artist to control the weakness that comes with age, or the waning of feeling that comes from a mental retreat from the world, and then there are transformations that inevitably arise when keeping up with the times. Such transformations in drawing lines appear to be natural, inevitable.

In Tezuka's case, in the 1960s and 1970s, even as he intentionally changed how he drew lines, there were also stylistic transformations beyond his control. How did the changes in Tezuka Osamu's lines appear to me at the time, as a manga fan making the transition from boyhood to adulthood?

To begin with, from the time he began to work on TV anime, his drawings lost their tautness, becoming somewhat slack. They seemed to lose the force holding them together, their centripetal force. They also rapidly lost the power to inspire one to draw (at least that is how I felt). Was it because the anime industry absorbed so much of his creative energy, or simply because he was too busy? The change was probably due to a bit of both, but there was

FIGURE 12: Reproductions of Tezuka self-portraits. From top: "His nose is still small and his eyes a modest size (third decade of Shōwa)"; "His nose takes on its trademark look in *Boku no Son Gokū* (Shōwa 27–34)"; "With spots on his nose in *Vampire* (Shōwa 41–42)"; "A wrinkle, Eyes half closed, This hand!, *The Crater* (Shōwa 44–45)"; "He has become a young adult, His glasses changed!, Strong-willed eyes behind his glasses, Senile eyes, Tezuka Ryōan in *Tree in the Sun* (*Hidamari no ki*) (Shōwa 56–61)."

also more at work. The era as well made for a weakening of the centripetal force of lines. The interior, whose light was supposed to overflow, emptied out. The self-consciousness that once shone forth from eyes was no longer a source of delight but a wasteland. In brief, the interior, the very thing Tezuka Osamu gave to postwar manga, utterly transformed. And so his eyes turned into empty sockets.[9]

Notes

1. Shimizu Isao, *Manga no rekishi* (A history of manga) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1991).

2. Yasumoto Ryōichi, "Ikiteita Momotarō" (The Momotarō who lived), in *Gendai manga taikan, vol. 4: Kodomo manga* (Survey of contemporary manga, vol. 4: Children's manga) (Tokyo: Chuo bijutsusha, 1928).

3. [For the sake of consistency in making this book chapter read as a standalone essay, I here omitted a short reference to a subsequent chapter with the author's permission. He writes, "This part of my argument will be particularly difficult to grasp without further discussion, but these issues will get knotty, so I will reluctantly move on. The chapter on *Kimba the White Lion* (1950–54, *Janguru taitei*) will address more concretely what I am trying to say here." —Trans.]

4. Abiko Motō, *Futari de shōnen manga bakari kaitekita* (The two of us were writing nothing but shōnen manga) (Tokyo: Bunshun Bunko, 1980).

5. Minamoto Tarō, *Manga no meiserifu* (Great lines from manga) (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1991).

6. Tezuka Osamu, *Shin takarajima* (New Treasure Island), vol. 1 (Osaka: Bunshindō, 1968).

7. [The author includes a reference to a prior chapter that I have omitted: "Here, the reader may grasp somewhat more what I wanted to say about the mob scene in the chapter entitled 'The pleasure of early period Tezuka manga.'" —Trans.]

8. Ishigami Mitsutoshi, *Tezuka Osamu no kimyōna sekai* (The strange world of Tezuka Osamu) (Tokyo: Kisōtengaisha, 1977).

9. [In the original book chapter, the author refers to a later chapter: "I have gotten ahead of myself a little. We will most likely come back to these ideas in a later chapter." —Trans.]

RENATO RIVERA RUSCA

Phoenix 2772: A 1980 Turning Point for Tezuka and Anime

Phoenix 2772: Love's Cosmozone (*Hi no tori 2772: Ai no kosumozōn*) is a 1980 animated feature film written by Tezuka Osamu (based on his manga *Hi no tori* [*Phoenix*]), directed by Sugiyama Taku, with Ishiguro Noboru acting as animation director.[1] The methods employed for special effects in the movie include scan camera shots, CGI, live-action filming, "2-frame photography," 3D manipulation, rotoscoping, and more. The movie's contents, its ambitious production, and the context surrounding it paints an intriguing image of Tezuka Osamu at a seemingly desperate stage of his creative life.

BACKGROUND HISTORY AND CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE WORK

In order to explain the significance of *Phoenix 2772* in terms of Tezuka's vast oeuvre of animated material, one first needs some background about the production methods of Japanese animation. In the 1950s and '60s, Tōei Dōga (now known as Toei Animation) produced a series of feature-length animations in the style of Disney movies of the time. Some were based on Chinese

folklore, such as *The White Snake* (1958, *Hakujaden*); others on traditional Western children's fables, such as *Puss in Boots* (1969, *Nagagutsu wo haita neko*). The techniques used to breathe life into pictures consisted of laborious animation sequences with drawings numbering in the tens of thousands, as every subtle movement had to be drawn, painted, and photographed.

In 1963, however, Tezuka Osamu, in his attempt to translate his manga *Tetsuwan Atomu* to television screens, felt that this method was overly labor intensive, so he proceeded to streamline the process to more efficiently meet the weekly schedule broadcasters demanded.[2] One way he cut costs was by simplifying the photographing of character dialogue scenes by swapping out one cel layer that depicted an open mouth with one depicting a closed one, without much concern for accurate lip-synching. Similarly, many sequences were often reused in different contexts to maximize the usage of each shot. Each of these techniques, combined with the steep reduction of the frame rate, proved successful for animated TV productions. For instance, reduced animation using the *3-koma-dori* method would mean that one cel was photographed identically three times, taking up three frames of film before the next cel layer or cel repositioning was implemented, thus reducing the rate by a third of "full" animation. TV audiences were willing to overlook reduced visual quality (as compared to theatrical works) in exchange for the chance to follow evolving character-based stories on a regular schedule.

By the late 1970s, however, the first generation brought up on television anime began coming of age and animated works that targeted these adults as well as their children increasingly appeared. Such TV series included *Space Cruiser Yamato* (1974, *Uchū senkan Yamato*), which was reedited into a movie in 1977 and subsequently gave rise to the first "anime boom."[3] Although it was not the first theatrical version of a TV animation, it was revolutionary in that it was composed mostly of footage produced originally for TV that had been reedited for the big screen (as opposed to being a completely new animated production such as the larger-scaled TV episode *Mazinger Z versus Devilman* [1973, *Majingaa Zetto tai Debiruman*]). Many movies based on this "TV series reedit" method followed, and in fact they continue to this day—to the extent that the "compilation movie" is now almost a staple of the industry.

From this period on, there was a sudden surge in theatrical animation based on popular TV series (many of which were inspired by manga series), including *Candy Candy* (1978, *Kyandii kyandii*), *Lupin III* (*Rupan III*, 1978), *Science Ninja Team Gatchaman* (1978, *Kagaku ninjatai Gatchaman*), *Galaxy Express 999* (1979, *Ginga tetsudō 999*), *Heidi, Girl of the Alps* (1979, *Arupusu no shōjo Haiji*), and *Future Boy Conan* (1979, *Mirai shōnen Conan*). Although movies

obviously commanded much larger budgets, the visual grammar of television was successfully translated onto the big screen through these productions. These theatrical features were noticeably different in scale and complexity from TV animation and also differed visually from both their 1950s and '60s Toei predecessors and Disney influences. They included frame-rate reduction techniques such as *3-koma-dori* and *tome-e* (images held in position), or sometimes "scrolling" images, known as *"hiki-e,"* where the position of the cels changes during photography but not the cels themselves, and other cost-cutting techniques used to dramatic effect. These visual elements were direct offshoots of the television style choices that Tezuka had originated.

Tezuka's "limited animation" method was both a blessing and a curse. On the one hand, it had provided the infrastructure to produce cheap entertainment on a diverse range of themes to an ever-expanding audience within Japan; on the other, it competed poorly on the global commercial market. In 1980, Tezuka sought to remedy this situation with the production of *Phoenix 2772.* Having recently completed a tour of both North and South America—where he visited not only Mayan, Aztec, and Incan ruins but also Hollywood movie studios and Disney—he realized that he needed to make *Phoenix 2772* a work that would translate well to audiences overseas, in terms of both visual grammar and thematic content. In this work, Tezuka insisted on returning to the "full animation" style—and more time-intensive methods—that had been used to create Toei classics like *Puss in Boots* and *Hols: Prince of the Sun.*[4]

Macross: Do You Remember Love? (1984, *Chōjikū yōsai Makurosu: Ai oboeteimasuka*), codirected by *Phoenix 2772*'s animation director Ishiguro Noboru (who himself was originally an effects animator hailed for his work as animation director on *Yamato*), clearly represents the aesthetic and technical differences between a Japanese animated movie and a TV series.[5] The *Macross* movie combined both TV and theatrical production techniques, creating an almost "transmedia" experience.[6] Thus, the style of what Tanaka Shimotsuki calls *"seitōha"* (orthodox) animation was essentially replaced by that of the Tezuka limited-animation production aesthetic that had by then become an industry norm. Yet it is still interesting to see how Ishiguro's staff on the *Macross* movie proved that hyperevolved interpretations of Tezuka's basic methods could provide an impressive alternative to "full-animation" without making concessions for perceived visual quality.[7]

Tezuka's innovation was motivated primarily by his own love of animation and the limitless possibilities he saw in the medium for imagination and invention. He saw the exponential industrialization of the animation process, fuelled by a rivalry with Tsuburaya Eiji's growing roster of effects-driven

kaijū (monster) TV serials such as *Ultra Q* (1966, *Urutora Kyū*), as a looming threat to the creative process. He did not so much fear that the *kaijū* works would crush the animation industry; rather, he was concerned that the rush for competition and market share would lead to low-quality and uninteresting animated works without real artistic integrity. From an early stage, then, he not only accurately predicted where the situation was headed, but he also realized that he may have been partly responsible for it, as *Tetsuwan Atomu*'s (1964–66) success directly led networks and production companies to adopt a cold-hearted, profit-oriented attitude. To redeem the situation, he tried his hand at many experimental animated works on a variety of themes in the hope of educating audiences to appreciate the artfulness and versatility that animation's many forms can offer.[8]

He then went on to produce several feature-length TV specials (another first for Japanese animation) at an annual pace, the first being *Bander Book* (1978, *Hyakumannen no chikyū no tabi: Bandaa bukku*), based on his original manga, with *Marine Express* (1979, *Kaitei chōtokkyū Marin Ekusupuresu*), a special featuring a gathering of many famous Tezuka "Star System" cast members, following the year after. These set the stage for Tezuka's triumphant return to the world of animation and served as a platform for the much-touted theatrical release of *Phoenix 2772* in 1980.

TEZUKA TURNS HIS GAZE OVERSEAS

Toshio Ban's *The Story of Tezuka Osamu Volume 2: 1960–1989* (*Tezuka Osamu monogatari 1960–1989: Manga no yume, anime no yume*) describes in detail the events leading up to the production of *Phoenix 2772,* including the publication of "Tezuka Osamu Fan Club Members' Magazine volume 0" (*Tezuka Osamu fankurabu kaiinshi 0-gō*), in which Tezuka describes in writing his reasons for rededicating himself to animation.

Perhaps out of some degree of desperation, Tezuka was committed as much to proving his own relevance in the modern animation age as he was to showing people something new and exciting: "One of the reasons I am trying once again to make animation is that when I read in magazines things like 'Tezuka may have been a pioneer of animation, but he is a figure of the past,' I get a strong motivation to get up and fight to prove that I am still able to create animation!"[9] He is quoted as saying that he wanted once again to instill a "sense of wonder" in the moviegoing audience.[10] Helen McCarthy corroborates the importance of this "Issue 0," noting the same statement, but

translating it as: "I am a man of my time, and I can still make films."[11]

Fred Patten, a former member of the Cartoon and Fantasy Art Organization and one of the most prominent figures within Western anime subculture, has documented Tezuka's struggles to have his 1950 manga *Kimba the White Lion* (1950–54, *Janguru taitei*) adapted into an animation suitable for broadcast both in Japan and in the United States in 1965, which eventually culminated in the heavily compromised *Kimba the White Lion.* According to Patten, Tezuka's negotiations with the U.S. television network NBC over the content were settled predominantly in favor of the American side, with Tezuka conceding numerous plot points and settings, even changing the appearance of the lead character to reflect U.S. preferences. Director Yamamoto Eiichi and NBC worked together to make U.S.-friendly content out of the *Kimba* settings. Some of the changes included raising Kimba's apparent age to make him slightly more mature and thus more of a role-model for children (as was done once again for Atom's character in the 2009 *Astro Boy* CG-animated movie, for similar reasons),[12] adding a large supporting cast of animal characters, and including a single evil lion as a recurring villain character, aided by comical hyena sidekicks. The biggest deviation from the manga was the lack of a growth arc into adulthood for the character of Kimba.[13] This showed that Tezuka was willing to concede to the demands of U.S. broadcasters in the hopes of bringing his brilliantly crafted story to a wider audience.

PERHAPS OUT OF SOME DEGREE OF DESPERATION, TEZUKA WAS COMMITTED AS MUCH TO PROVING HIS OWN RELEVANCE IN THE MODERN ANIMATION AGE AS HE WAS TO SHOWING PEOPLE SOMETHING NEW AND EXCITING.

A similar tendency to seek a balance of aesthetic and commercial concerns can be seen upon Tezuka's return to animation with *Phoenix 2772.* Preproduction began with a reevaluation of Tezuka's manga and the "Phoenix" figure's feminine characteristics. Tezuka, having recently returned from his travels overseas, was full of inspiration for a mystical, mythical tale that would take full advantage of new animation technologies. He had visited the Los Angeles studio where the feature animation *Metamorphoses/Winds of Change* (1978, *Hoshi no Orufeusu*) was produced, and he took cues from its prominent Western mythos and imagery as well as from the effigies and ruins of the ancient civilizations he had seen while touring Latin America.[14]

Tezuka's interest in the international appeal of animation was renewed by his trips abroad. Upon his return to Japan, one of the first challenges he undertook was the problem of effectively animating a supernatural force for the viewer, as Western and Japanese reactions to such visual imagery would

differ widely depending on various understandings of religious contexts and cultural associations. Tezuka was specifically concerned that the depiction of his Phoenix as a god-like creature—which had been predominantly identified as "feminine"—might clash with the Western understanding of the Judeo-Christian God who has traditionally been gendered male.[15] Tezuka concluded that something had to be adjusted in order to make the movie accessible to audiences around the world. In watching the film and witnessing how the Phoenix is portrayed, it is clear that the "character" of the Phoenix has several different depictions throughout the movie, and these transform even within certain scenes. At times it is beautiful and graceful, soaring through a glowing ether as in the opening of the film, even before the protagonist's birth, giving the impression of a higher being transcending time and space, and other times it is described as an entity made up of pure energy, whose body can take any shape or form—with little regard for lesser beings.

CREATIVE TECHNICAL INNOVATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

For *Phoenix 2772,* Tezuka hired the aforementioned Ishiguro Noboru to handle the visual effects as an animation director. He worked alongside Nakamura Kazuko, who was put in charge of overseeing the performances of the characters.[16] Together with director Sugiyama Taku and the rest of the animation crew, they created a unique combination of production techniques utilizing "full-animation," "slit-scan animation," "rotoscoping," and many other optical effects, unusual for Japanese animation at the time.

For better or worse, the "shorthand" production techniques that Tezuka himself developed for television had become the norm even for theatrical works, so Tezuka decided to restructure the entire system from the ground up for *Phoenix 2772.* One of his production changes was the use of role-specific performance animation directors under a "character system." Essentially, each character in the main cast would be assigned a specific animator who would dictate his or her movements, thereby giving the ensemble cast further individuality beyond their physical appearance and personalizing their expressions and gestures. Like the use of full animation itself, this system was not actually new at the time, despite being touted as such in many publications at the time—the technique just seemed new to the younger generation of viewers accustomed to the style of TV anime.[17] In one such interview, director Sugiyama (who, in 1978, had authored the *Tōei Dōga chōhen anime daizenshū*

[Complete guide to Toei Dōga feature anime]) mentions that the older Toei animated features had also used this method, but because it was not efficient for televised serials it had dropped out of use after the TV anime boom. Ishiguro Noboru, who was present at the same interview, quipped, "Rather, it's quite antiquated."[18] The complete restructuring of what had become the standard animation production process presented further problems, such as having to bring outside animators into the studio instead of outsourcing frames to other studios as is still common practice today. This led to the formation of a second key-frame unit.

FOR BETTER OR WORSE, THE "SHORTHAND" PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES THAT TEZUKA HIMSELF DEVELOPED FOR TELEVISION HAD BECOME THE NORM EVEN FOR THEATRICAL WORKS, SO TEZUKA DECIDED TO RESTRUCTURE THE ENTIRE SYSTEM FROM THE GROUND UP FOR *PHOENIX 2772*.

Having "moved away from animation" for a period of time, Tezuka experienced some feelings of inferiority in relation to contemporary mechanical design, so he selected Mikuriya Satomi as the designer for the film's many spaceships and science-fiction elements. From a technical standpoint, Tezuka intended for the many forms and effects that he was using in *Phoenix 2772* to serve as a showcase for a diversity of animation techniques, proving to his audience that anime need not necessarily be limited by a rigid definition of what it should or should not be.[19]

Another innovative method that Tezuka adapted to the production of *Phoenix 2772* was the *haikei dōga* (moving background) technique. He had used *haikei dōga* before in a small segment of the opening sequence of the original *Tetsuwan Atomu* series. It was also present in the opening for the newer, Ishiguro-directed, 1980 series. Although the television show's budget would not allow them to use such shots in *Tetsuwan Atomu* as frequently as they had in *Phoenix 2772,* the collaborative team of Tezuka and Ishiguro did employ a significant *haikei dōga* sequence during the opening of the show, where we, as the viewers, are taken along on a ride (from a perspective positioned directly behind Atom), following him through the cityscape at high speed. This scene is similar to one in *Phoenix 2772* where we see the hero Godō leave his training facility and step out into the city for the first time, and we visually pursue his vehicle as it maneuvers down the streets. Although the technique is employed a number of times in *Phoenix 2772,* it is most impressive in a fifty-seven-second sequence that depicts Godō and Olga driving through the futuristic city (Figure 1). Compared to the "static" rendition of merely following Atom from behind along a straight line, in this instance, the viewer's

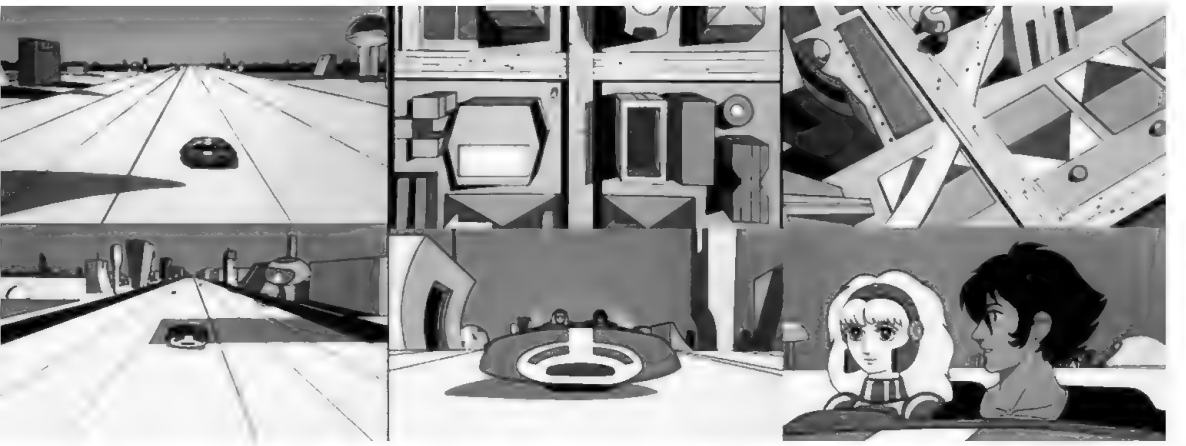


FIGURE 1. In this fifty-seven-second *haikei-dōga* sequence, the "camera" tilts and pans around Olga and Godō's vehicle, zooming out into the sky and eventually returning back to its original starting position behind the car, as they approach their destination. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

line of sight often changes angle, sometimes rising to a bird's eye perspective directly above Godō's car, but with all of this movement sustained in a single long-running shot.

The particular elements of this scene were developed by carefully mapping out the placement of buildings and roads on a scale model of the cityscape laid out along the corridor of Tezuka Productions in Takadanobaba. Animator Kobayashi Junji was wheeled down the corridor on a trolley as he rolled an 8mm camera and mimicked the movements and angles according to Tezuka's storyboard. The speed of the car was set at 130km/h, and careful calculations were made in order to portray accurately how quickly the buildings would pass by the car as it travelled down the highway. The entire process took two months to complete and earned Kobayashi an even greater role as animator on Tezuka's *Jumping* (1984, *Janpingu*), a six-minute experimental film comprised entirely of *haikei dōga*.[20]

Tezuka's adaptation of rotoscoping was likely inspired in part by his viewing of the animated movie *The Lord of the Rings* (1978) during his visit to the United States. This film was especially famous for employing rotoscope effects during the Ringwraith scenes. Tezuka was aware that the use of rotoscoping in a predominantly hand-drawn animated film had both its fans and critics. He was hopeful, however, that such a love/hate response would not occur within the audience of *Phoenix 2772*.[21] Aside from some standard uses of rotoscoping during action scenes like Godō's laser-gun shooting sequence, other sections of the filmed footage are traced.[22] For example, before rotoscoping, live-action footage of the Space Shark miniature model was filmed over an

eleven-hour period on December 9, as was the footage that depicts Godō as a fetus in a jar.[23] Tezuka's adaptation of the rotoscoping method differs from that used in *The Lord of the Rings* feature because at the time there was only one "action tracer" machine in Japan that would enable raw film to be magnified and have its lines traced. Ishiguro and his team had to come up with an alternative, which eventually came in the form of Fuji Xerox's "copy flow" machine. This machine printed out the blown-up images from the film into thin, yet adequate paper copies that allowed the animators to trace over them on their regular desks. To make these traced images blend with the rest of the animation, Tezuka reduced the frame rate of the filmed sequences.[24] Whereas normally live-action images shot on film are exposed at twenty-four frames per second, the staff photographed the subjects at half of that rate, using two frames for each image instead of one.

The movie's innovative adaptation of slit-scan animation or "scanimation"—an optical process through which light is electronically refracted to produce warped manipulations of 2D images—was likely inspired by the final scenes of *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), a film whose special effects and filming techniques had been heavily scrutinized by Ishiguro and inspired him to experiment with his own methods. This technique was employed to great effect in the more ethereal-looking scenes of the Phoenix floating through a multi-colored plane of space, in particular during the opening sequence. Other scenes in *Phoenix 2772*, such as Godō's battle with the Phoenix, utilized other creative animation methods such as placing a camera on the underside of a water tank and filming mud pigments being dropped into it, then superimposing the resulting effect onto the animation footage to depict an explosion in space.[25]

TEZUKA, ISHIGURO, AND THE FEMALE SACRIFICE

While technically the film's storyline is original, its general philosophy and themes closely reflect those of Tezuka's manga, featuring the renaissance/reincarnation trope so prevalent in the original work. The effects-laden climax of the movie shows Godō's assistant female robot and love interest, Olga, sacrificing herself to save him during the battle against the Phoenix. During the remainder of the film, her character appears to be possessed by the Phoenix, although, in fact, Olga is dead. Upon realizing this, Godō makes a deal with the Phoenix and offers his life in exchange for Earth being saved

from destruction. In a key scene, we see him lie down next to Olga's lifeless, stone-like body, then be reborn as an infant while Olga too comes back to life. This time she is not a robot but a human, who, presumably, will once again raise Godō to adulthood, as she did during the first part of the movie (obviously the film has considerable Freudian connotations which we do not have space to discuss here). Tezuka believed that the cyclical aspect of death and rebirth was very much in keeping with the overall tone and meaning that he had established in the Phoenix manga, but he did have concerns that young children might not fully understand such scenes.[26]

Ishiguro, in the last chapter of his book, *Terebi anime no saizensen* (1980, On the frontlines of TV animation), mentions that his involvement in the *Phoenix 2772* project marked his first collaboration with Tezuka. It would not be his last, as he described his excitement at being selected to work as the director for the "new" *Tetsuwan Atomu* TV show.[27] The female sacrifice motif is notably present in numerous collaborations between Tezuka and Ishiguro. For example, the theme is central in *Time Slip 10,000 Years: Prime Rose* (1983, *Taimu surippu 10000-nen: Puraimu rōzu*), one of the aforementioned annual Tezuka feature-length TV specials, directed by the late legendary Dezaki Osamu, with storyboards by Ishiguro and the main story outline by Tezuka (based on his manga). In it, the titular character of Prime Rose, who has the power to turn into stone, places herself in harm's way to save the hero, Tambara Gai. She ends up seeming permanently lifeless, but Gai swears to remain by her side until she returns to life.

Similarly, the final episode of the 1980–81 *Tetsuwan Atomu* TV series features a live-action introduction by Tezuka Osamu himself, explaining that the following tale is a story that had been kept secret by Atom and Professor Ochanomizu for a long time. Atom removes his boots and reveals that he has "slender legs, like those of a little girl," according to Tezuka. The reason for this, we find out over the course of the episode, is that a female robot called Nyōka (with whom Atom had fallen in love) had a self-destruct mechanism activated inside of her and to save Atom she asked to be dismantled. Her legs were the only pieces that remained intact, and Atom pleaded with Professor Ochanomizu to replace his own with them, so that he and Nyōka could be "together forever." The script and "*enshutsu*" (animation performance) for this episode were both handled by Tezuka, with Ishiguro at the directorial helm, and both elements clearly differ from those of the final episode of the 1960s show, where Atom is the one who sacrifices himself.[28]

According to writer and critic Narumi Takeshi, Tezuka despised traditional Japanese movies and wanted to avoid using the stereotypical tendencies of

FIGURE 2. Godō tries desperately to revive Olga (left), and later gives his life and lays down beside Olga's lifeless body before the both of them are reincarnated. From *Phoenix 2772*. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

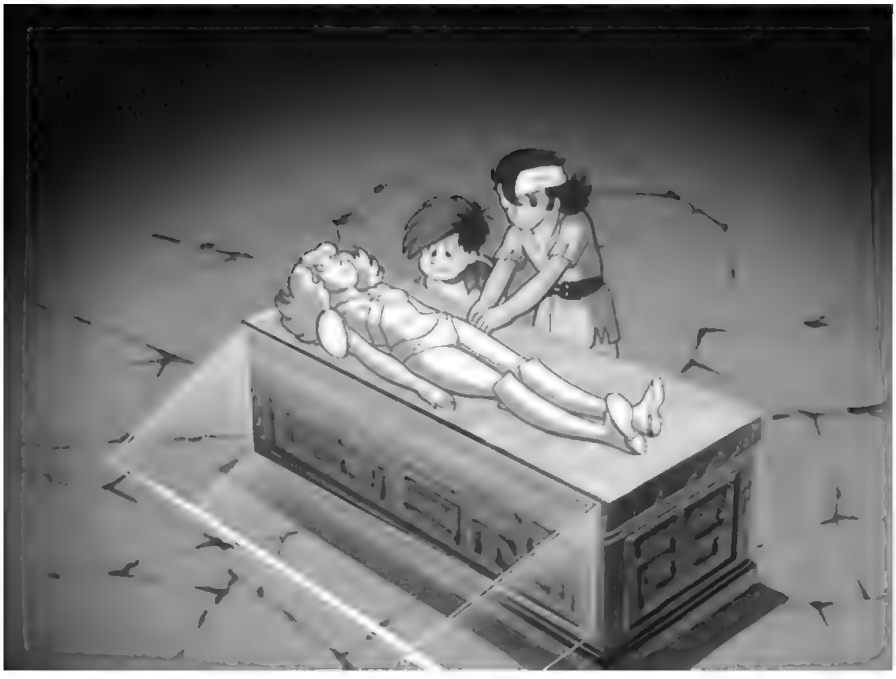


FIGURE 3. Tambara Gai and Bunretsu try to revive Prime Rose, who is now a statue. From *Taimu surippu ichiman nen: puraimu rōzu* (*Time Slip 10,000 Years: Prime Rose*, TV special, 90 mins, 1983, dir.: Dezaki Osamu). Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

their female protagonists. In a chapter of his book, *"Moe" no kigen*, entitled "Tezuka Osamu's Globalism," Narumi notes that many Japanese movies have heroes who "do not fall in love"; rather, they crave the warmth of their mothers, as illustrated by the sheer number of Japanese narratives that invoke the "surrogate mother" as a love interest, a point discussed by many scholars including film critic Satō Tadao. Narumi cites Satō as stating: "Japanese movies

are not as mature as foreign films" because women are generally "just there to provide support from the shadows, to encourage and cook, not to love and be loved."[29] Thus Narumi is intrigued to find that although Tezuka tried to steer away from Japanese gender stereotypes, he seems to have unwittingly inserted a controversial—and internationally unacceptable—example into this, his masterwork of animation. Narumi thus proposes that Olga serves as a prototype for many *moe* characters in Japanese animation, which would later become the norm for so-called *Akiba-kei* otaku-oriented works today.

There is also evidence that Tezuka found this reaction to the gender roles in his movie surprising. He himself describes a particular anecdote that occurred during his screenings at U.S. universities. After the UCLA showing, Tezuka was asked by a female student why Olga behaved in the way she did toward Godō, despite the lack of any reciprocation from him for most of the movie. Tezuka was unprepared for this question. He was further taken aback by the accusation (by more than one female student) that in many of his works female characters are completely dependent on the male heroes and

FIGURE 4. Tezuka Osamu, in the memorabilia room in his home, appears in a live-action sequence at the start of the fifty-second and final episode of the 1980 *Tetsuwan Atom* TV series, to let viewers in on a secret regarding the appearance of Atom's legs. (*Tetsuwan Atom* [*Astroboy*], TV series, 1980–81, dir. Ishiguro Noboru). Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

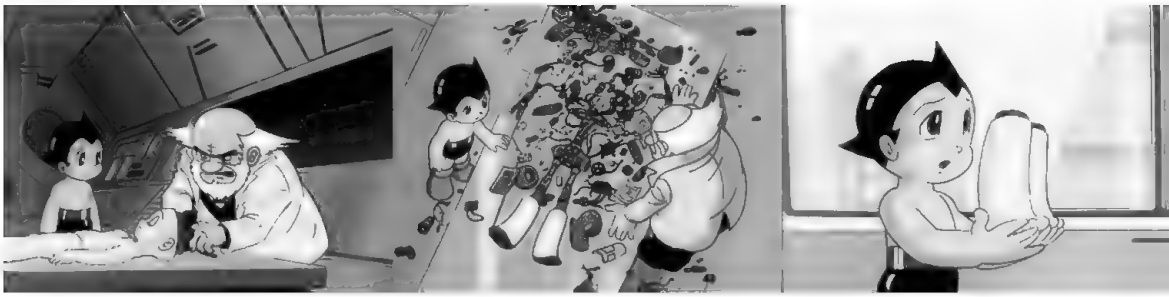


FIGURE 5. *Left:* Atom watches Nyōka be dismantled to prevent the bomb from detonating. *Center:* Nyōka in her almost entirely disassembled state. *Right:* Atom pleads with Professor Ochanomizu to replace his legs with Nyōka's. From *Tetsuwan Atom* (1980), episode 52. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

have little will of their own (a primary example being Uran-chan, Atom's little sister). These female audience members also claimed that if American female writers had been on the writing staff, Olga would have been allowed more independence and her character would not just blindly follow commands. Upon returning to Japan, Tezuka found writing female characters even harder than before.[30] Yet, perhaps, this may be some of the reason why the female characters that we meet in his later works such as *Prime Rose,* despite the fact that they still selflessly sacrifice themselves for the heroes, are clearly stronger, more active, and independent.

THE LEGACY OF 2772

Also in 1980, Tezuka, among other Japanese talents, first attended the San Diego Comic-Con, thanks in large part to the fact that the artist Monkey Punch enthusiastically spread the word about the con throughout the industry after his attendance the previous year. The screening of *Phoenix 2772* received such a positive reaction at the convention that a second showing was scheduled. Tezuka had previously attended "Japanimation" conventions in Los Angeles and screened his own movies like *Cleopatra* (1970) and *One Thousand One Arabian Nights* (1969, *Sen-ichiya monogatari*) for fans there.[31] He even joined con discussions to learn more about the responses of audiences.

The film was also heavily promoted both in the magazines of the day and by Tezuka himself, with the technical achievements being especially highlighted. It won two awards overseas: the Inkpot Award at the 1980 San Diego Comic-Con and the Animation Award at the 1980 Las Vegas Film Festival. Since then, however, its aesthetic legacy has faded into obscurity. Tezuka's death in 1989 meant that the planned "2772" volume of his *Hi no tori* manga

THE WORK AS A WHOLE REVEALED TEZUKA'S DEEPEST DETERMINATIONS BUT ALSO SOME OF HIS MOST HUMAN FLAWS.

would never be realized. Instead, Mikuriya Satomi produced his own version of the 2772 story in comic format. Despite all the care that went into its production to ensure that *Phoenix 2772* would be accessible to overseas audiences, the history of its licensing across national boundaries is complex. The movie encountered many of the same pitfalls suffered by other contemporaneous "hidden gems" within nascent "Japanimation" fandom. Peregrine Films obtained the U.S. rights and Celebrity Home Video released a low-quality dubbed version that cut many scenes. In Japan, the versions released on home video were also heavily edited, leaving out many key scenes. Even the 2003 Toho DVD "uncut" edition, the most recent home video version released in Japan, omits approximately one minute of dialogue (as compared to the original theatrical release). Madman's release of the Australian DVD in 2006 appears to have been the last worldwide, and as of 2012, the film is no longer in print. Its most recent public screening was at the 21st Tokyo International Film Festival in October 2008.[32] Its omission from the timeline of theatrical releases listed in the pages of the latest anime industry guidebook indicates that even industry experts are unaware of the film, further reducing the chances that young people will encounter it.[33]

Phoenix 2772 was an ambitious experiment in animation, a combination of old and new, "orthodox" full animation with cutting-edge special effects; a film that even the flyer boasted "could never be possibly topped." Musically it was "new" also as its beautiful orchestral score by Higuchi Yasuo introduced the then eighteen-year-old rising star violinist Senju Mariko. The work as a whole revealed Tezuka's deepest determinations but also some of his most human flaws. Historically, the story of its production serves as a significant milestone between the 1970s and 1980s chapters of Japanese animation chronology, with major industry players at its core. For these reasons, it is deeply regrettable that the film is not more widely available, especially to younger generations, so that they may become more fully aware of anime's lineage and Tezuka's role within it.

Notes

1. *Hinotori 2772: Ai no kosumozōn,* dir. Sugiyama Taku (1980).

2. *Tetsuwan Atomu,* dir. Tezuka Osamu, TV series, 193 episodes (1964–66); translated as *Astro Boy: Ultra Collector's Edition,* two six-DVD box sets (Right Stuf, 2006).

3. Taniguchi Isao and Asō Hajime, *Saishin anime gyōkai no kōdō to karakuri ga yoku*

wakaru hon (A guide to understanding the trends and workings of the anime industry) (Tokyo: Shuwa System, 2010), 18–19.

4. *Nagagutsu wo haita neko,* dir. Yabuki Kimio (1969); translated as *The Wonderful World of Puss 'n Boots* (Discotek Media, 2006). *Taiyō no ōji: Horusu no daibōken,* dir. Takahata Isao (1968); translated and released in the United Kingdom as *The Little Norse Prince,* DVD (Optimum Releasing, 2005).

5. *Chōjikū yōsai Makurosu: Ai oboeteimasuka,* dir. Ishiguro Noboru and Kawamori Shōji (1984); translated and released in the United Kingdom as *Macross: Do You Remember Love?* VHS (Kiseki, 1995).

6. Tanaka Shimotsuki, "Doramachikku gurafizumu: Makurosu—me no bōken (Dramatic Graphism: Macross—An Adventure for the Eyes)," *Gekkan OUT,* October 1984, 118–19.

7. Action scenes depicting countless streams of missiles barraging at high speed are the workmanship of animator Itano Ichirō, protégé of Ishiguro, who honed his skills by taking advantage of the TV model and calculating which key frames to accentuate by adding or removing in-between frames. Itano reminisces on his experiences working on *Mobile Suit Gundam* (1979–80, *Kidō senshi Gandamu*): "Because I was using so many frame drawings that you wouldn't think that this was a show for TV, I got a lot of complaints. I was told by the *enshutsu* (performance director) that there are always three in-between frames between any two key frames, but I was like, "Who set that system in stone? The number of frames should be different depending on the action!" So we never agreed. Then after the *enshutsu* guy does the *satsudashi* (the final check before photography), he would go out for a drink, during which I would sneak in and take out the superfluous frames. Then when the rushes came out, Tomino-san [Tomino Yoshiyuki, director of *Gundam*] would be beaming" (Keisuke Hirota, "Itano Ichirō interview," *Great Mechanics DX* vol. 7, December 2008, 95). The result was a groundbreaking visual dynamism that gave Japanese animation a unique flair, in particular within battle scenes, but this technique can also be spotted in some of the movements of the characters. Itano had already made waves among fans with such experimental techniques in the *Macross* TV series (1982–83) and the *Space Runaway Ideon* TV series (1980–81, *Densetsu kyojin Ideon*). The 1984 *Macross* movie's budget allowed the staff to compose even more complex sequences (such as the dynamic eight-second cut of the protagonist's erratic final approach at breakneck speed through a maze of winding tunnels to confront the enemy boss at the film's climax), while still using techniques developed for TV production instead of going back to the roots of theatrical animation production like Tezuka chose to do.

8. Ban Toshio and Tezuka Productions, *Tezuka Osamu monogatari 1960–1989: Manga no yume, anime no yume* (The story of Tezuka Osamu, 1960–1989: Dreams of manga, dreams of anime) (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1992), 94–96. Also, with the help of hindsight, we now realize that part of the reason animation was able to develop into a richer medium than that of the *tokusatsu/kaijū* shows and surpass them in number and variety was that production of materials for the special suits required in the live-action works became increasingly troublesome during the oil crisis. In contrast, the principal costs to produce animated works were mostly limited to the manual labor of actually drawing the cels in studios.

9. Ibid., 262.

10. Ibid., 263. It is interesting to note that Tezuka that very year (1979) illustrated the front cover of the debut album, "Sense of Wonder," by the progressive rock band of the same name.

11. Helen McCarthy, *The Art of Osamu Tezuka, God of Manga* (New York: Abrams, 2009), 191. McCarthy here also provides a scan of Tezuka's original Japanese text in a legible resolution.

12. *NHK supesharu: Nihon to Amerika, dainikai: Nihon anime VS hariuddo* (NHK Special: Japan and the United States: Japan Animation vs. Hollywood), TV special; original airdate: October 27, 2008, NHK-G.

13. Fred Patten, *Watching Anime, Reading Manga: 25 Years of Essays and Reviews* (Berkeley, Calif.: Stone Bridge Press, 2004), 152–56.

14. Tezuka's manga and subsequent movie, *Unico* (1981, *Yuniko*), was also inspired by the unicorn that appears in *The Winds of Change/Metamorphoses*.

15. Ban, *Tezuka Osamu monogatari*, 271.

16. The term "animation director" used here should not be confused with the usual translation of *sakuga kantoku*. Page 44 of *Fantasutikku korekushon No. 19: Hi no tori 2772 derakkusu ketteiban* (Fantastic collection no. 19: Phoenix 2772 Deluxe Definitive Edition) (Tokyo: Asahi Sonorama, 1980) cites a statement by Nakamura Kazuko that clarifies the distinction as the latter being the normal, TV format director of the animation process who checks the key frames, the in-betweens and the movements they create, while the former—used in the context of *Phoenix 2772*—is the combination of her and Ishiguro Noboru's efforts to "create the screen."

17. For example, the character system employed in *Phoenix 2772* is claimed to have been a "forgotten" method used in old classic works of animation in *Sukuriin 4-gatsu rinji zōkan: Hi no tori 2772 kōkai kinen gō* (Screen April special: Phoenix 2772 release memorial issue), April 1980, 94.

18. *Fantasutikku korekushon No. 19: Hi no tori 2772 derakkusu ketteiban*, 44

19. "Tezuka Osamu Interview," *Animage*, vol. 20, February 1980, 56–57.

20. Ban, *Tezuka Osamu monogatari*, 278–81.

21. *Animage*, vol. 20, 57.

22. Ishiguro, on page 42 of *Gekkan OUT*, April 1980, candidly reveals that the actor behind Godō's movements in this scene is actually veteran actor Nagashima Toshiyuki, before he became famous.

23. *Animage*, vol. 20, 62.

24. Ibid., 57.

25. Ban, *Tezuka Osamu monogatari*, 274.

26. *Animage*, vol. 20, 57.

27. Ishiguro Noboru, *Terebi anime saizensen* (On the frontlines of TV animation) (Tokyo: Daiwa Shobō, 1980), 239–40.

28. Regarding the 1980 *Tetsuwan Atomu* series overall, Frederik Schodt insists that the show itself was a disappointment for Tezuka, as his staff—in spite of Ishiguro having previously been an employee at Mushi Productions in his youth—were too fixated on making Atom heroic (perhaps fueled by their own memories of the 1960s TV series) and thus could not understand what he wanted them to do with the character (Frederik L. Schodt, *The Astroboy Essays* [Berkeley, Calif.: Stone Bridge Press, 2007] 160–62). Helen

McCarthy, however, takes the stance that this adaptation of the character is actually the closest to the original depiction in Tezuka's manga series of all the animated adaptations new or old (McCarthy, *The Art of Osamu Tezuka,* 231). Ishiguro's own resumé of directorial works—*Uchū senkan Yamato, Chōjikū yōsai Makurosu* (1982–83, Super dimension fortress Macross), *Chōjikū seiki Ōgasu* (1983–84, Super dimension century Orguss), *Ginga eiyū densetsu* (1988–2000, Legend of the galactic heroes), as well as non–science fiction fare like *Tottoi* (1993) and *Pattenrai!! Minami no shima no mizu monogatari* (2008, Pattenrai: Tale of the water of the southern islands)—shows us that he was highly skilled in depicting the humanistic motivations of all characters, be they friend or foe, within the narrative. The discrepancy here is indicative of Tezuka's struggle of trying to keep up with the times, and another example of his desperate attempts to remain in the frontlines of the animation world while the industry changed all around him. *The Animation Filmography of Osamu Tezuka* (Tezuka Osamu gekijō: Tezuka Osamu no animeeshon fuirumogurafii) (Tokyo: Tezuka Production, 1997) describes the 1980 *Atom* series as a show borne out of necessity due to the unappealing nature of the black-and-white original and notes the reimagining of the Atom character, complete with character flaws and weaknesses, which ultimately proved unsuccessful.

29. Narumi Takeshi, *"Moe" no kigen* (The origin of "moe") (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyūsho, 2009), 41–42.

30. Anna Panina, "Phoenix 2772," http://www.2772.otaku.ru/texts/j_totteoki.htm, and Tezuka Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu totteoki no hanashi* (Tezuka Osamu's stories for posterity) (Tokyo: Shin Nippon Publishing, 2001), 73–76.

31. *Cleopatra,* dir. Yamamoto Eiichi and Tezuka Osamu (1970); *Sen-ichiyamonogatari,* dir. Yamamoto Eiichi (1969).

32. "Tezuka Osamu Official Home Page," http://tezukaosamu.net/en/anime/13.html.

33. Taniguchi Isao, Asō Hajime, *Saishin anime gyōkai no dōkō to karakuri ga yōku wakaru hon* (An up-to-date guide on the trends and tricks of the anime industry) (Tokyo: Shuwa System, 2010).

MARC STEINBERG

Copying Atomu

KILLING ATOMU

Tezuka Osamu, *Tetsuwan Atomu*. The almost homophonic relationship between the manga creator's name and that of what is arguably his most famous character hints at the closeness of their connection. Like many close relationships it was fraught, full of psychodramas that played out on the pages of the manga, and that Tezuka occasionally discusses in his writings. Atomu was Tezuka's creation, his child, and a cash cow but also sometimes the albatross around his neck.[1] Paralleling the creator–creation dynamics found in the backstory of Atomu himself—a robot created by a mad scientist to replace his son, Tobio, tragically killed in a car accident, a robot who failed to grow, disappointed his father-creator, and was subsequently abandoned by him—Tezuka too wanted, at times, to abandon his creation. But unlike the case of Atomu and Doctor Tenma, the difficulty of Atomu for Tezuka wasn't so much a lack of growth but a surfeit of it. Moreover this unhappy growth was not just in size but in popularity and most of all in reproduction. Skipping over all the reasons Tezuka had to love Atomu, let's get to the heart of their relationship by asking the more morbid—and more revealing—question of why

ATOMU WAS TEZUKA'S CREATION, HIS CHILD, AND A CASH COW BUT ALSO SOMETIMES THE ALBATROSS AROUND HIS NECK.

Tezuka wanted to kill Atomu.[2] The truth of their relationship and its dynamism will tell us a couple things about the Tezuka–Atomu complex that continues to inform Japanese character merchandising and its national and international cultures of production and consumption.

The desire to kill Atomu arguably boils down to three reasons: (1) fatigue, (2) the overreproduction of Atomu image and its attendant independence from the creator's hand, and (3) the latter's correlate, the proliferation of bad copies of the character. Fatigue and the proliferation of derivative, Atomu-*like* TV shows such as *Tetsujin 28-gō* (1963–66, *Gigantor*), *Eitoman* (1963–64, Eightman), and *Uchū Ace* (1965–66, *Space Ace*) are some reasons Tezuka offers in his short explanation for his decision to end the TV show with Atomu's spectacular death on December 31, 1966.[3] The concern with the overreproduction of the Atomu image comes out more indirectly in Tezuka's comics, as we will see below, but it is also implied in his account of sponsor Meiji Seika's desire to move onto a new character as the sales of its once explosively popular Atomu-related candies had leveled out.[4] The fatigue is perhaps natural, given that by the time Tezuka first killed the character off semidefinitively in the 1966 television animation episode, "Chikyū saidai no bōken" (The greatest adventure on Earth), the series had already been on air for some 210 weeks, and Tezuka had been drawing the character in comic form since 1951. Putting fatigue aside, then, let's look at the two other elements of the kill-Atomu complex: copies and their circulation, and derivatives and their degradation.

GOOD COPIES

Atomu's reproduction was by no means a problem for Tezuka from the start, or at all times. In fact what made Atomu such a valuable product for his creator was precisely the ways Tezuka exercised control over the circulation of the Atomu image. Tezuka was one of the first artists in Japan to demand companies pay him for the use of the Atomu image, registering this image as a trademark at a time when the makers of toys and other merchandise regularly used character images without seeking the permission of their creators. In this he was quite explicitly following in the footsteps of copyright master Walt Disney.[5] With the creation of the association of officially licensed Atomu product producers, "*Atomu no kai*" (The Atomu Association), Tezuka and his Mushi Production studio effectively differentiated between good, licensed

copies, and bad, unlicensed ones. This also produced the distinction between good licensees and bad pirates.[6]

Yet even amid this economically beneficial situation to Tezuka, wherein Atomu goods were bringing much needed cash to pay for the loss-making animation production business, there was something in the proliferation of Atomu images that would begin to cause Tezuka some trouble: the character gained increasing independence from him. The push toward this independence of the character really came at the beginning of the *Tetsuwan Atomu* television series in 1963, with the proliferation of character images and merchandise that appeared subsequently. I deal with this event in depth in *Anime's Media Mix: Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan*, but allow me to recall the proliferation of Atomu images in the form of stickers—first as premiums or freebees for Meiji Seika chocolates, and later as a supplement to the Kappa Comics monthly, magazine-size republication of the *Atomu* manga episodes.[7] The stickers could be affixed to any surface, and thereby create Atomu goods out of anything. Seen as the representative commodity of the Atomu boom, and often seen as the origins of character merchandising in Japan, the most notable thing about the stickers is the way they encouraged the proliferation of Atomu images throughout the visual space of early 1960s Japan.

Of particular note here, and on the subject of copying Atomu, is that the sticker images of Atomu were not drawn by Tezuka himself, or his team of assistants. In fact the first Atomu stickers made by Meiji Seika for its Marble Chocolates were drawn by the hand of Meiji marketing department's Ban Shōjirō.[8] In *Anime's Media Mix* I emphasize the visual homogeneity across media forms. Here it is worth acknowledging that this visual homogeneity was also marked by a transformation in the line form of Atomu.[9] That is to say, this visual homogeneity was not simply created by the onscreen images matching the original comic but rather involved a transformation of the original comic design itself to be increasingly aligned with the television image of the character. To be sure, Atomu's form had already changed over the course of the 1950s, but, according to some, a much more profound transformation was to occur in the lines of Atomu subsequent to the creation of the television animation series.[10]

BAD DRAWINGS

Eminent manga critic Natsume Fusanosuke is emphatic about this transformation in the Atomu line pre– and post–television anime series. For Natsume and others of his generation who grew up reading the manga during the 1950s,

the Atomu drawings of the 1960s anime and stickers are marked by a stylistic transformation that betrayed the original. During the 1950s, Tezuka's characters were marked by lines of force that held them together. These lines had a power that allowed for "the realization of various forms of expression, and the ability to portray the wavering of characters' interior psychology."[11] It was the force of these lines that attracted early fans like Natsume and fueled fans' desire to imitate Tezuka's style by copying his characters.[12] But the dilution of the force of these lines produced a schism, Natsume contends, between earlier Atomu fans and fans who came to the character after the explosion of the manga's popularity post-1963.[13] The anime, stickers, and manga of the 1960s show a rounding of the lines, a smoothness of the image that renders it inorganic, lifeless, formalized, and ultimately "exchangeable"—in stark contrast to the vitality and "absoluteness" of Tezuka's lines in the 1950s.[14] While the beginnings of this transformation were to be found in the manga around 1961, the process of transformation was greatly accelerated by the production of the anime and its sticker spin-offs.[15] Moreover, the drawing style found in the anime and its character goods quickly led to a transformation of the manga image as well—leading to what Natsume calls a "reverse importation" from anime to manga.[16]

In part this change was motivated by the necessities of animation production and the increased need for drawing characters quickly, for drawing characters capable of movement. The transformation of the lines of Atomu can hence be read as part of the clean-up process of eliminating lines of force that Thomas Lamarre discusses in *The Anime Machine: A Media Theory of Animation*.[17] But another part of this transformation was the proliferation of images that accompanied Atomu's transformation into a television hero and the object of a mountain of merchandise. As we've already seen, in most cases it was no longer Tezuka who drew or oversaw the drawing of Atomu. There was an increased autonomy of the Atomu drawing process, whereby newer Mushi Productions staff and more and more licensees drew the Atomu image. Attending this process was the increase in bad drawings, such as this one advertising Atomu socks (Figure 1). Here Atomu appears more like Santa Claus with his large belly and boots (or socks?) than the Atomu of the comic or even the anime. No doubt many children bought the socks for what they provided: a likeness of Atomu, more or less. As such they proved that bad copies could substitute good originals, and indeed could transform them through the process of reverse importation, making the distinction between good and bad copies essentially irrelevant. But for disgruntled older fans like Natsume, this remained a bad likeness, a bad drawing.

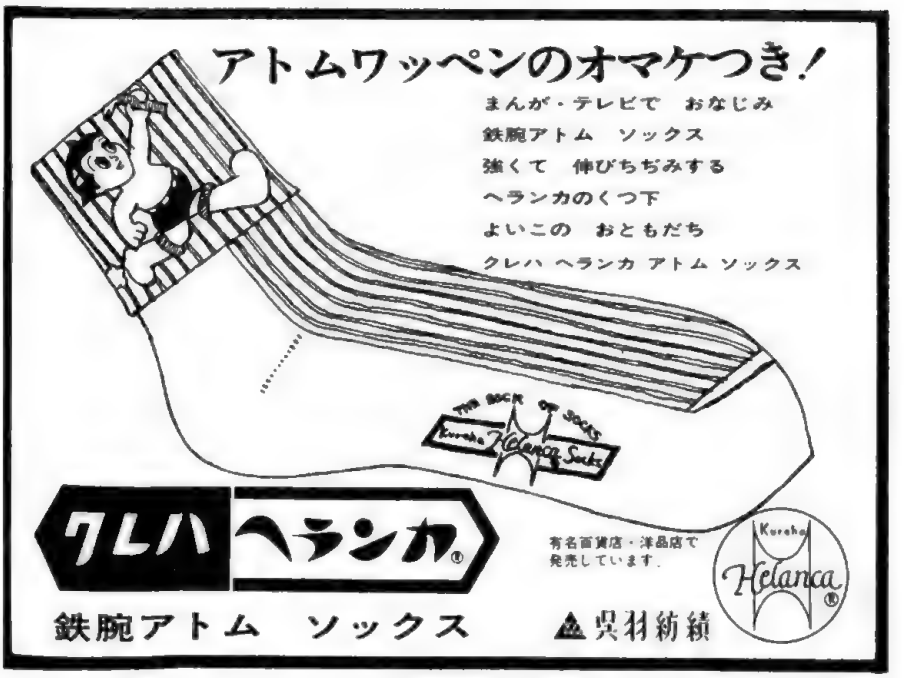


FIGURE 1. Example of bad drawing: Tetsuwan Atomu socks, where the character looks more like Santa Claus than the Atomu of the manga. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

BAD COPIES

The problem of bad copies (counterfeits, or image use without paying the proper royalties), bad drawings (in anime and its merchandise), and the questions of the whereabouts of the original Atomu all work themselves back into Tezuka's manga on the thematic level. Tezuka's *Tetsuwan Atomu* manga serialization shows an increasing concern with the proliferation of the Atomu image from mid-1963 through 1964 with a series of narratives that deal with the doublings of the main character. In the most representative of these, "Robotto Uchū-tei" (Robot spaceship), serialized in *Shōnen* magazine during the first major Meiji-Atomu campaign from July to December 1963, Atomu is taken apart and copied piece by piece. These pieces are then reconstructed into an (almost) exact reproduction of Atomu—an act of plagiarism as one scientist complains.[18] Of course copyright infringement is most likely what is being gestured toward here, given Tezuka's and Mushi Pro's pioneering and vigorous efforts to demarcate official Atomu goods from unofficial, pirated ones.

Yet with springs popping out of Atomu's head, eyes that are too round and stare blankly, and a line perforating his arm from his body, Tezuka is clearly working hard to mark this almost perfect reproduction as nonetheless very different from the original (Figure 2)—at least for the reader (these springs seem invisible to the real Atomu). Indeed, as the scientist who copied Atomu notes, the copy has all the powers of Atomu except his intelligence—"his head is empty,"[19] hence the blank look in the eyes of the "reproduced Atomu" (*fukusei no Atomu*) or "fake" Atomu.[20] In the context of a proliferation of Atomu images throughout the lived environment, the distinction between copy and original, primary work and secondary spin-off had already been eroded. As if to protest against this erasure of original/copy distinction, and to militate against the proliferation of simulacra—simulacra being copies of copies or copies that undermine the very distinction between original and copy—Tezuka works hard in this manga episode to reaffirm the singularity of Atomu, the real impossibility of copying him. In the final scene of Atomu versus fake Atomu's confrontation, the real Atomu wins out, and the fake Atomu graciously self-destructs (Figure 3).

FIGURE 2. Several panels from Tezuka Osamu's mid-1963 through 1964 *Tetsuwan Atomu* serialization, "Robotto Uchū-tei" (Robot spaceship). Note the use of springs to differentiate this "fake" Atomu copy from the original character. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

FIGURE 3. A page from Tezuka Osamu's mid-1963 through 1964 *Tetsuwan Atomu* serialization, "Robotto Uchū-tei" (Robot spaceship), featuring the final confrontation between the real Atomu and the fake reproduction. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

SIMULACRAL REBIRTH

As we know, though, the logic of the simulacrum is infectious, and the copy won't just graciously twinkle out of existence: the simulacrum acts backward to erase any distinction between real and fake, original and copy. As something positively more than the copy of a copy, the simulacrum, as Gilles Deleuze writes, "harbors a positive power which denies *the original and the copy, the model and the reproduction.*"[21] Deleuze notes that the power of the simulacrum lies in its ability to generate a divergence in series, leading to the possibility of "different and divergent stories, as if an absolutely distinct landscape corresponded to each point of view."[22] This power of the simulacrum was latent in the Japanese media ecology in the early 1960s, with the proliferation of bad drawings and fake copies. In fact we should recall that Atomu was himself a (bad) copy from the very beginning, a mechanical substitute for Doctor Tenma's dead child. Interestingly enough, despite his desire to reaffirm the singularity of Atomu in "Robotto Uchū-tei," Tezuka himself eventually drew on the divergent powers of the simulacrum. Soon after killing Atomu in the television series in December 1966, and as he continued the serialization of Atomu manga in *Shōnen* magazine, Tezuka began serializing an alternate universe of Atomu in the *Sankei Shimbun* newspaper: *Atomu konjyaku monogatari* (Atomu: Tales of times now past). While seeming to rebel against the copies of Atomu by killing his creation, Tezuka later took up the very promise of the multiplicity of copies; following these copies to their logical conclusion, he created different universes, parallel continuities, and narratives in divergent worlds.

IF TEZUKA WANTED TO KILL ATOMU, IT WAS PERHAPS BECAUSE THE ATOMU TV SERIES, ITS TRANSMEDIA SYNERGY, AND THE MULTIPLE COPIES THAT FOLLOWED HAD UNLEASHED THE POWERS OF THE SIMULACRUM, POWERS THAT TEZUKA ON THE ONE HAND WANTED TO KEEP IN CHECK AND ON THE OTHER HAND SOUGHT TO EXPLOIT.

Killing Atomu was thus the starting point for another world. In fact, the proliferation of parallel worlds within the Japanese media mix is arguably one of Tezuka's legacies that we may trace to this Tezuka–Atomu complex, and the intensive copying of Atomu that took place around the first animated television series. So ultimately, if Tezuka wanted to kill Atomu, it was perhaps because the Atomu TV series, its transmedia synergy, and the multiple copies that followed had unleashed the powers of the simulacrum, powers that Tezuka on the one hand wanted to keep in check and on the other hand

sought to exploit. This complex continues to play out in the present day, visible in the tendency of some anime series to emphasize divergent series rather than convergent series, appearing as the parallel worlds, loop narratives, and repetition found in television series such as *Yojōhan shinwa taikei* (2010, *The Tatami Galaxy*).[23] But this also has a much more direct manifestation in the numerous rewrites of Atomu since the 1960s, one of the most prominent recent examples being Urasawa Naoki's *Pluto*. Atomu lives on, in multiple lives and multiple worlds, years after his alleged death.

Notes

1. Frederik Schodt discusses the sometimes ambivalent feelings Tezuka had toward Atomu in a chapter aptly entitled "A Complicated Relationship": "Osamu Tezuka killed off Mighty Atom . . . at least three times in his manga series and once in an anime version. It was an act he may have committed out of frustration, for Tezuka sometimes declared *Mighty Atom* to be his 'worst work.' At the same time Tezuka was intensely proud of his character's success." Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, and the Manga/Anime Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif.: Stone Bridge Press, 2007), 145.

2. Nakaji Hideo remarks on Tezuka's desire to kill Atomu as early as the 1956 killing of Atomu's lookalike brother Cobalt in the "Midoro ga numa" installment. Nakaji reads this destruction of Cobalt as an early manifestation of Tezuka's desire to kill Atomu. Cobalt was subsequently re-created (and indeed this first death was later erased from the episode). See Nakaji, "Tetsuwan Atomu are kore" (This and that on Tetsuwan Atomu), in *Manga hihyou taikei: Tezuka Osamu no uchū,* ed. Takeuchi Osamu and Murakami Tomohiko (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 177–78.

3. Tezuka Osamu, "Atomu no shi" (The Death of Atomu), in *Tezuka Osamu essei-shū #6* (Tezuka Osamu Collected Essays, vol. 6) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1997), 166–68. This essay was first published several months after the end of the *Atomu* TV series, in the April 1967 issue of *Chūō kōron.* Schodt discusses this essay in *The Astro Boy Essays,* 149–50.

4. Ibid., 167.

5. Tezuka Osamu, "Manga no shōhin ka" (The merchandising of comics), in *Tezuka Osamu essei-shū #3* (Tezuka Osamu Collected Essays, vol. 3) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1997), 191–94.

6. Tezuka Osamu, *Boku wa mangaka* (I am a manga artist) (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 1979/2000), 242–43. It is perhaps worth noting the irony here, insofar as Tezuka himself was, as arguably all creators are, a pirate himself, growing as an artist by copying Disney images, as well as those of his other idol Tagawa Suihō.

7. Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix: Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 37–85.

8. Tsunashima Ritomo, *Atomu shiiru to Tetsujin wappen* (Atomu stickers and Tetsujin badges) (Kyoto: Dankōsha, 1998), 29.

9. While I don't discuss the change of line form in *Anime's Media Mix,* my comments here are meant to compliment my discussion of the homogeneity of the image space there

by suggesting how this homogeneity was itself constructed through an encounter across media that effectively shifted the contours of the original Atomu form.

10. Mori Haruji offers a visual chart of Atomu's transformations in the opening pages of his *Zusetsu: Tetsuwan Atomu* (Illustrated: Tetsuwan Atomu) (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo, 2003), 2–3.

11. Natsume Fusanosuke, *Tezuka Osamu wa doko ni iru* (Where is Tezuka Osamu?) (Tokyo: Chikuma, 1995), 86.

12. Ibid., 87.

13. Ibid., 137.

14. Ibid., 197.

15. Ibid., 164, 149.

16. Ibid., 148.

17. Thomas Lamarre, *The Anime Machine: A Media Theory of Animation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 70–74.

18. Tezuka Osamu, "Robotto Uchū-tei no maki," in *Tetsuwan Atomu,* vol. 11 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1980), 164.

19. Ibid., 170.

20. Ibid., 172, 186.

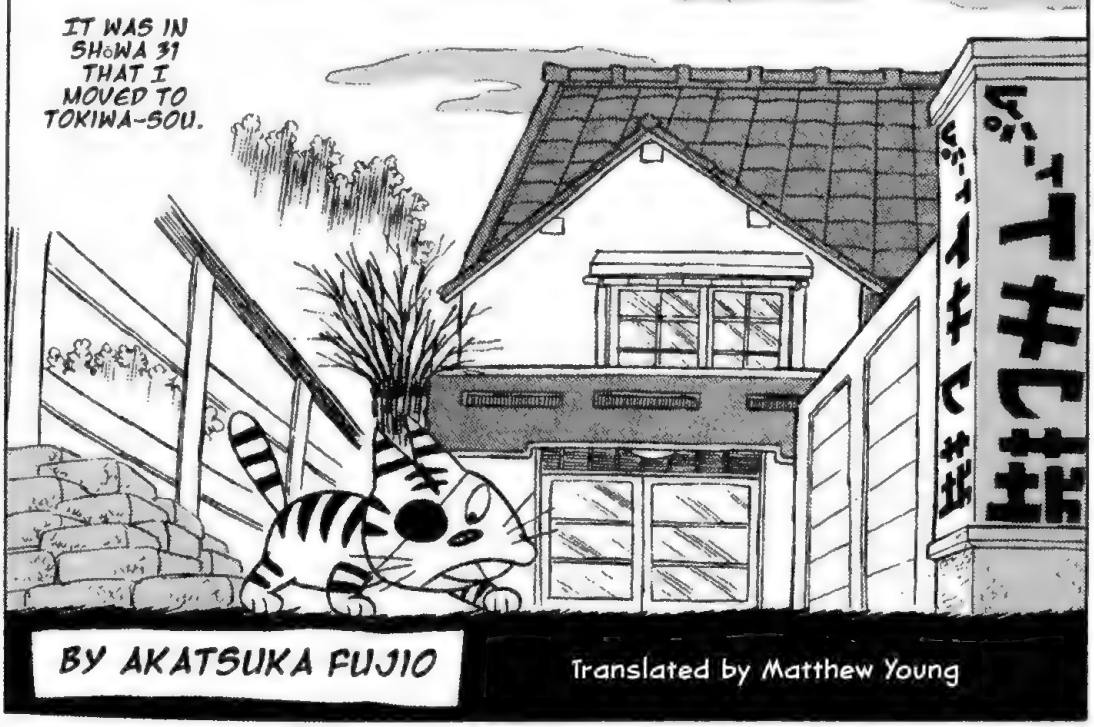
21. Gilles Deleuze, *The Logic of Sense,* trans. Mark Lester, ed. Constantin V. Boundas (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 262.

22. Ibid., 260.

23. I further develop an analysis of *The Tatami Galaxy* in terms of media divergence in "Condensing the Media Mix: *The Tatami Galaxy*'s Multiple Possible Worlds," *The Canadian Journal of Film Studies* (Fall 2012): 71–92.

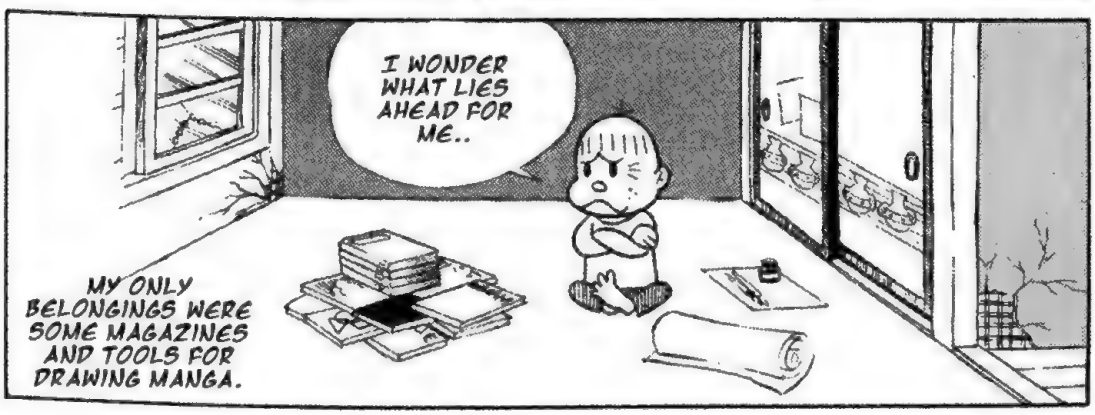
トキワ荘物語

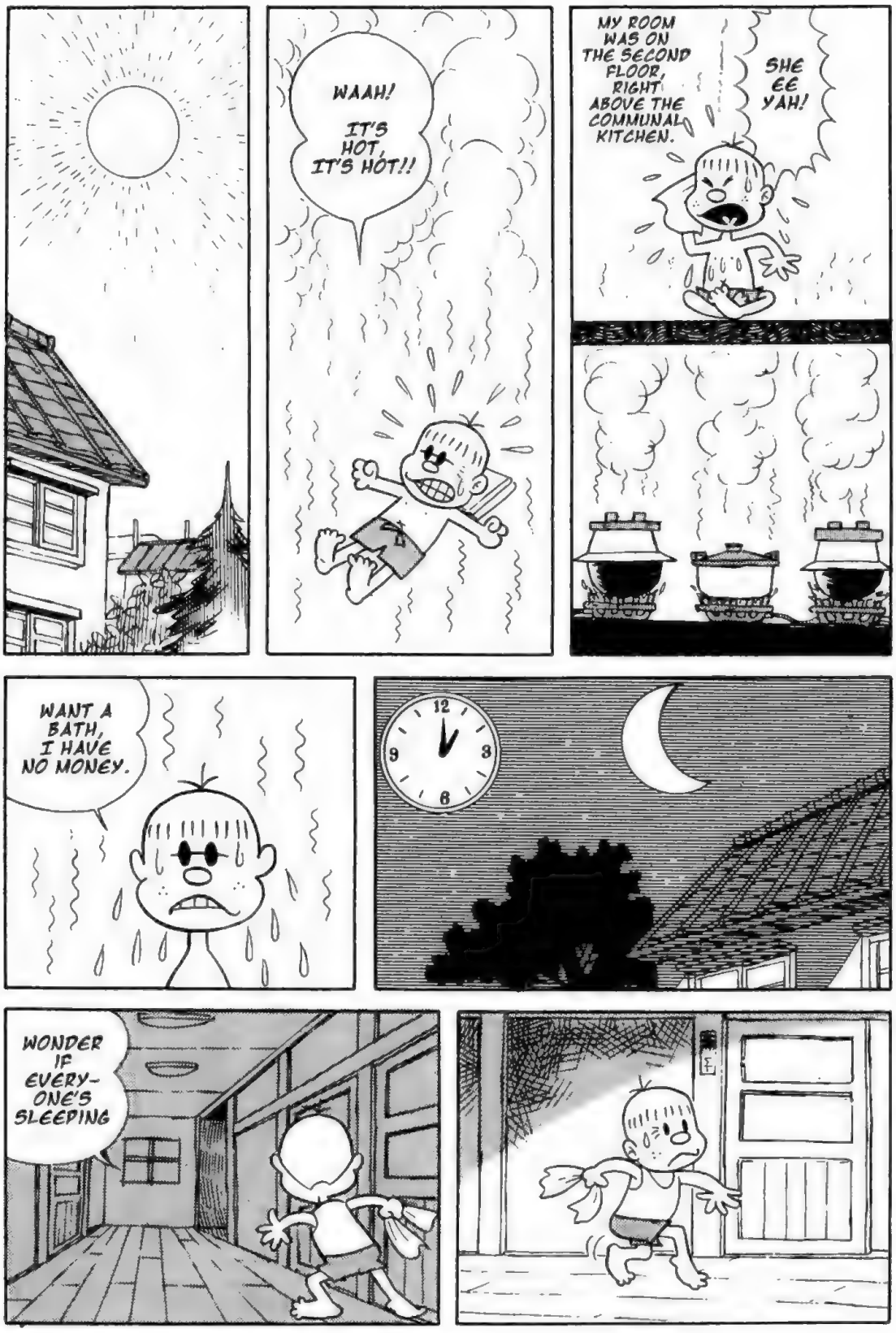
TOKIWASOU STORY

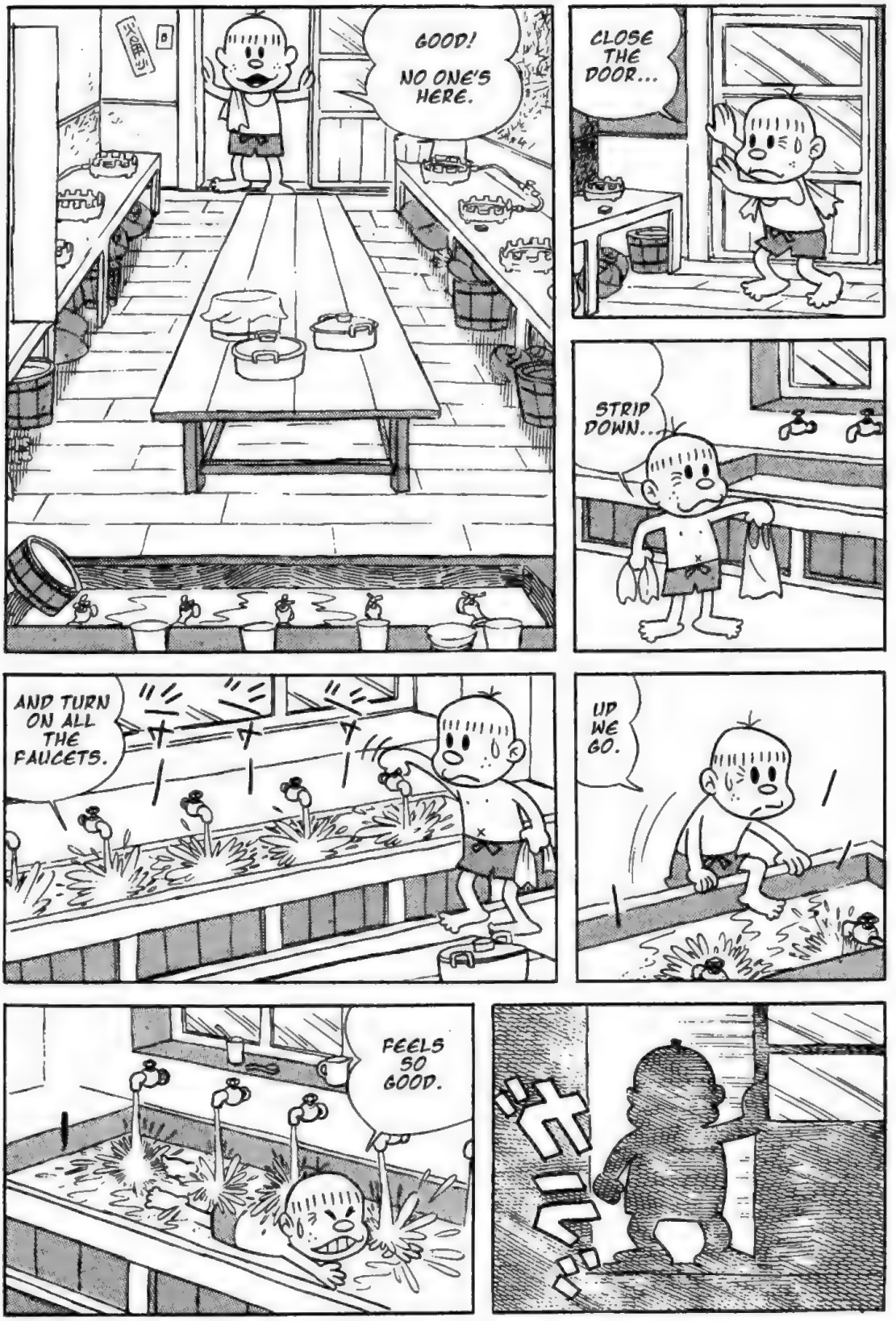


BY AKATSUKA FUJIO

Translated by Matthew Young




WAAH!
IT'S HOT, IT'S HOT!!
MY ROOM WAS ON THE SECOND FLOOR, RIGHT ABOVE THE COMMUNAL KITCHEN.
SHE EE YAH!
WANT A BATH, I HAVE NO MONEY.
12
3
6
9
WONDER IF EVERY-ONE'S SLEEPING

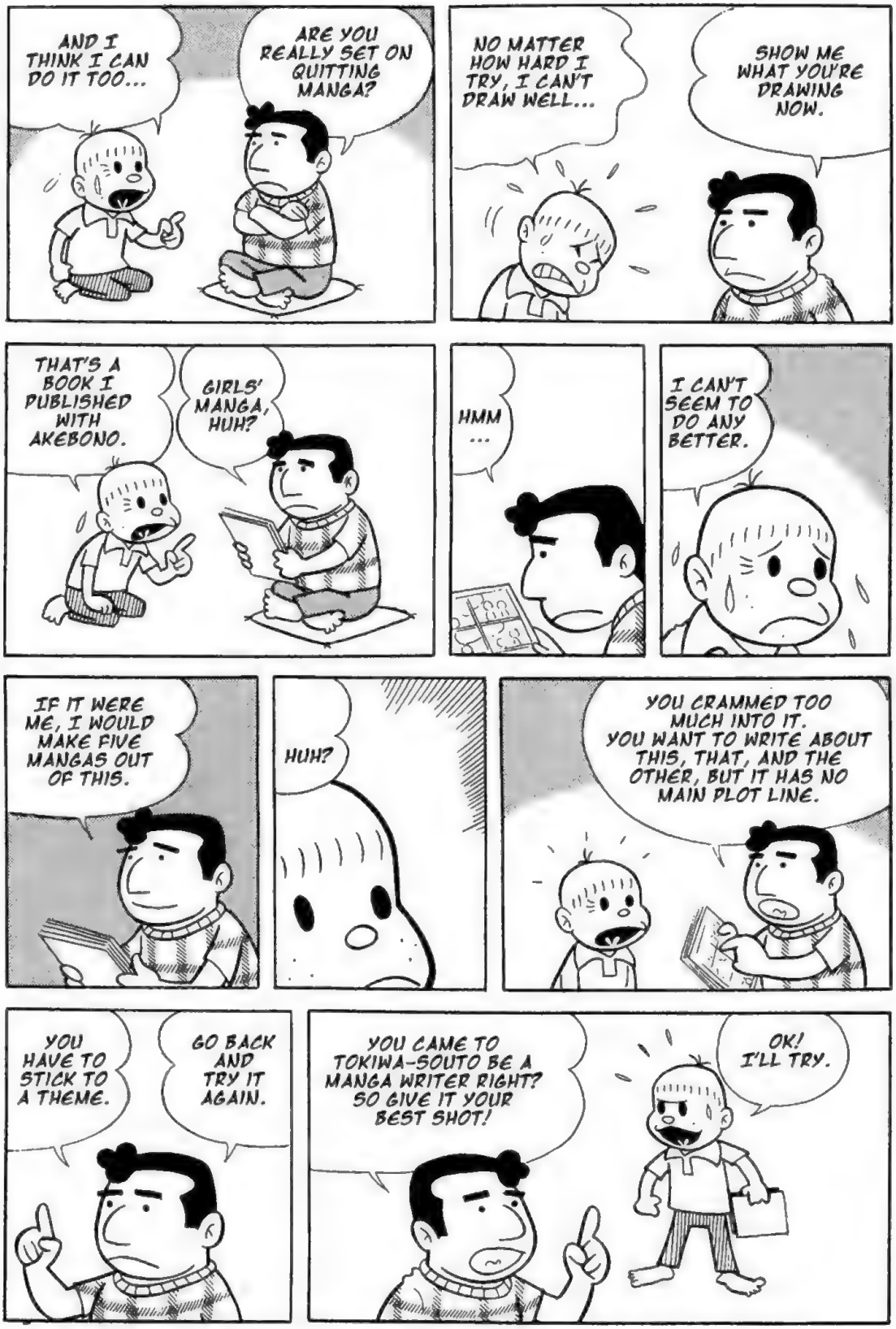

GOOD!
NO ONE'S HERE.
CLOSE THE DOOR...
STRIP DOWN...
AND TURN ON ALL THE FAUCETS.
UP WE GO.
FEELS SO GOOD.
ｻｰﾚｰ

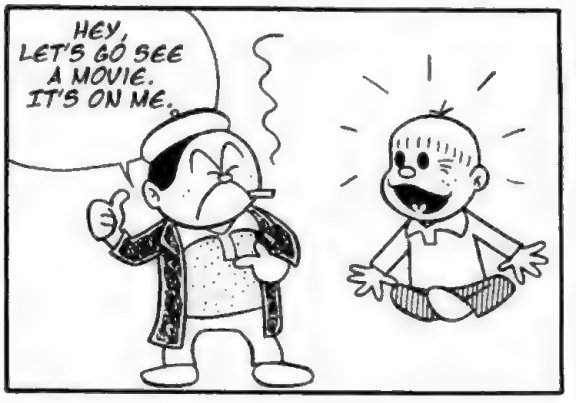
WHA!!
WHAT'RE YOU DOING?
AH! MR. ISHIMORI
HEH HEH... TAKING A COLD BATH.
LEMME TRY IT.
AHHHH
I DON'T HAVE A DESK...
I'LL USE THIS PLYWOOD I GOT FROM MORIYASU-SAN
FIRST, PILE UP SOME BOOKS...
PUT THE PLYWOOD ON TOP AND NAIL IT DOWN.
WINDOWSILL
BOOKS

NOT BAD!!
PLEASE DRAW A COMIC FOR US RIGHT AWAY!
A REPORTER CAME FROM YOUNEN CLUB
YES, SIR!!
NOW'S MY CHANCE!! IF I DRAW IT QUICKLY AND SKILLFULLY, I MIGHT BE ABLE TO GET CUT WORK EVERY MONTH...
SORRY I DON'T HAVE ANY CUSHIONS TO SIT ON.
THAT'S FINE. JUST DO IT QUICKLY. QUICKLY!!
MILK BOTTLE ASHTRAY
OK!!
SORRY, I JUST HAVE TO PAINT THE BLACK PARTS.
JUST DO IT QUICKLY!!
OKAY!
JUST THEN, THE NAILS CAME LOOSE!!
WHOA!!

AHH!
SORRY!
DID I GET INK ON YOU!?
I'M FINE, BUT...
!!
HEH HEH HEH HEH.
I'M SORRY! I'LL DRAW IT AGAIN RIGHT AWAY!!
DAMMIT! IF I ONLY HAD A DESK...
ARE YOU WORKING ALL NIGHT?
YUP! SEEMS SO.
I HOPE I'LL GET WORK WHERE I PULL ALL-NIGHTERS, TOO.

I WAS ASKED TO DO 64 PAGES FOR THE SPECIAL ISSUE OF SHOUJO CLUB.
I NEED A HAND
SURE
I'LL HELP, TOO.
NAGATANI KUNIO
ALRIGHT!! 32 PAGES BY TOMORROW MORNING!!
EVERY-ONE'S WORKING SO HARD...
I'M NOT GOOD ENOUGH.
TERADA-SAN, I'M NOT GOOD ENOUGH.
HOW SO?
I'M THINKING ABOUT QUITTING AND BECOMING A WAITER OR SOMETHING.
A WAITER?
I SPENT ALL DAY AT A COFFEE SHOP CALLED LA SEINE AND OBSERVED THE THINGS THE WAITER DID.


AND I THINK I CAN DO IT TOO...
ARE YOU REALLY SET ON QUITTING MANGA?
NO MATTER HOW HARD I TRY, I CAN'T DRAW WELL...
SHOW ME WHAT YOU'RE DRAWING NOW.
THAT'S A BOOK I PUBLISHED WITH AKEBONO.
GIRLS' MANGA, HUH?
HMM ...
I CAN'T SEEM TO DO ANY BETTER.
IF IT WERE ME, I WOULD MAKE FIVE MANGAS OUT OF THIS.
HUH?
YOU CRAMMED TOO MUCH INTO IT. YOU WANT TO WRITE ABOUT THIS, THAT, AND THE OTHER, BUT IT HAS NO MAIN PLOT LINE.
YOU HAVE TO STICK TO A THEME.
GO BACK AND TRY IT AGAIN.
YOU CAME TO TOKIWA-SOUTO BE A MANGA WRITER RIGHT? SO GIVE IT YOUR BEST SHOT!
OK! I'LL TRY.

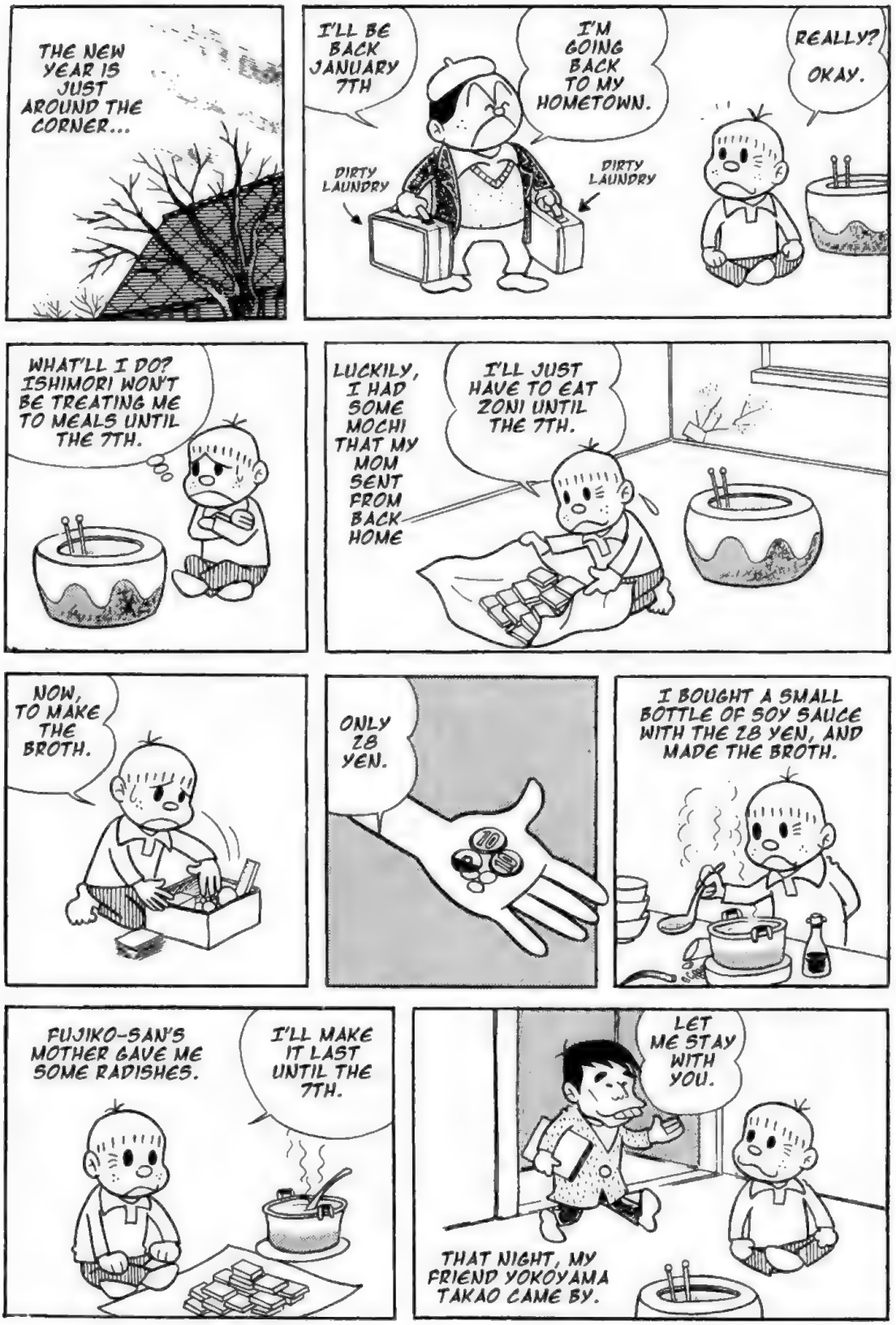


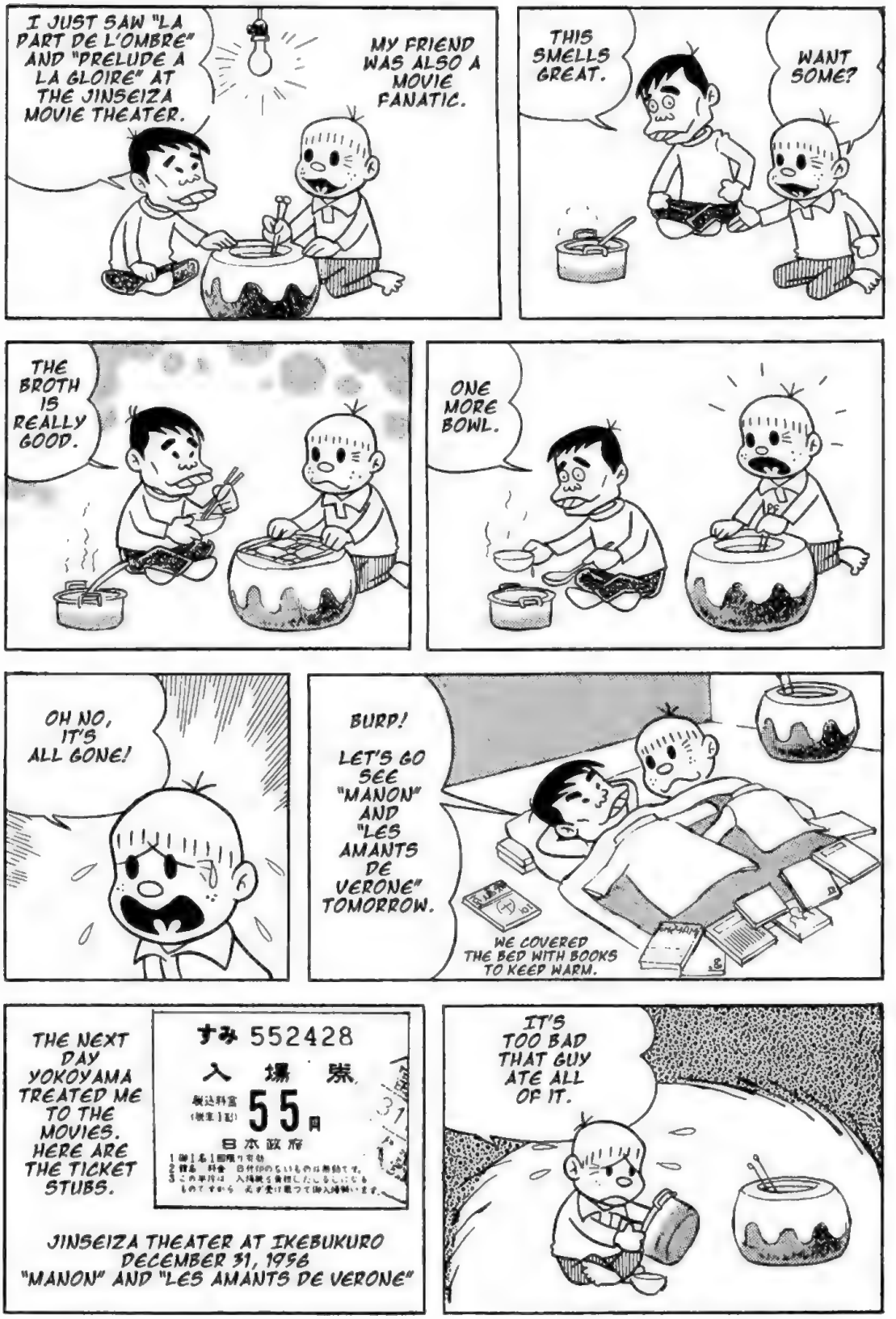
SOME OF THE MAIN MOVIES WE SAW THOSE DAYS:

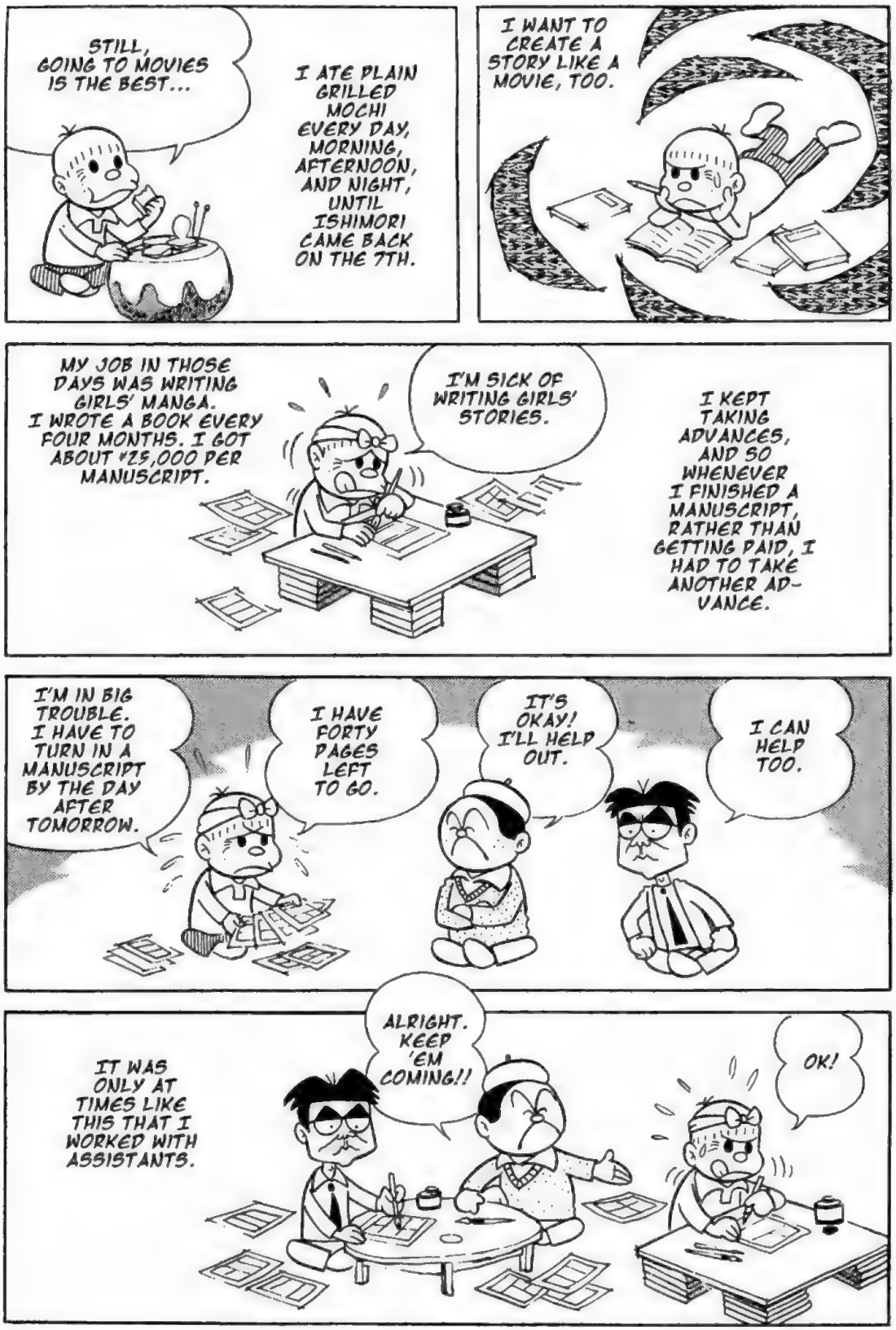
MY DARLING CLEMENTINE
BEAUTY AND THE BEAST
SHOESHINE
THE SPANISH MAIN
MODERN TIMES
RIO GRANDE
LES MANDITS
7 SAMURAI
LIMELIGHT
WAR OF THE WORLDS
FANFAN LA TULIPE
SHE WORE A YELLOW RIBBON
A KID FOR TWO FARTHINGS
THE RED SHOES

KISS OF DEATH
SNOW WHITE
LE PETIT MONDE DE DON CAMILLO
STRAY DOG
EAST OF EDEN
THE THIRD MAN
THE PRISONER OF ZENDA
SHE WAS LIKE A WILD CHRYSANTHEMUM
LE BALLON ROUGE
BLACKBOARD JUNGLE
REAR WINDOW
ROMAN HOLIDAY

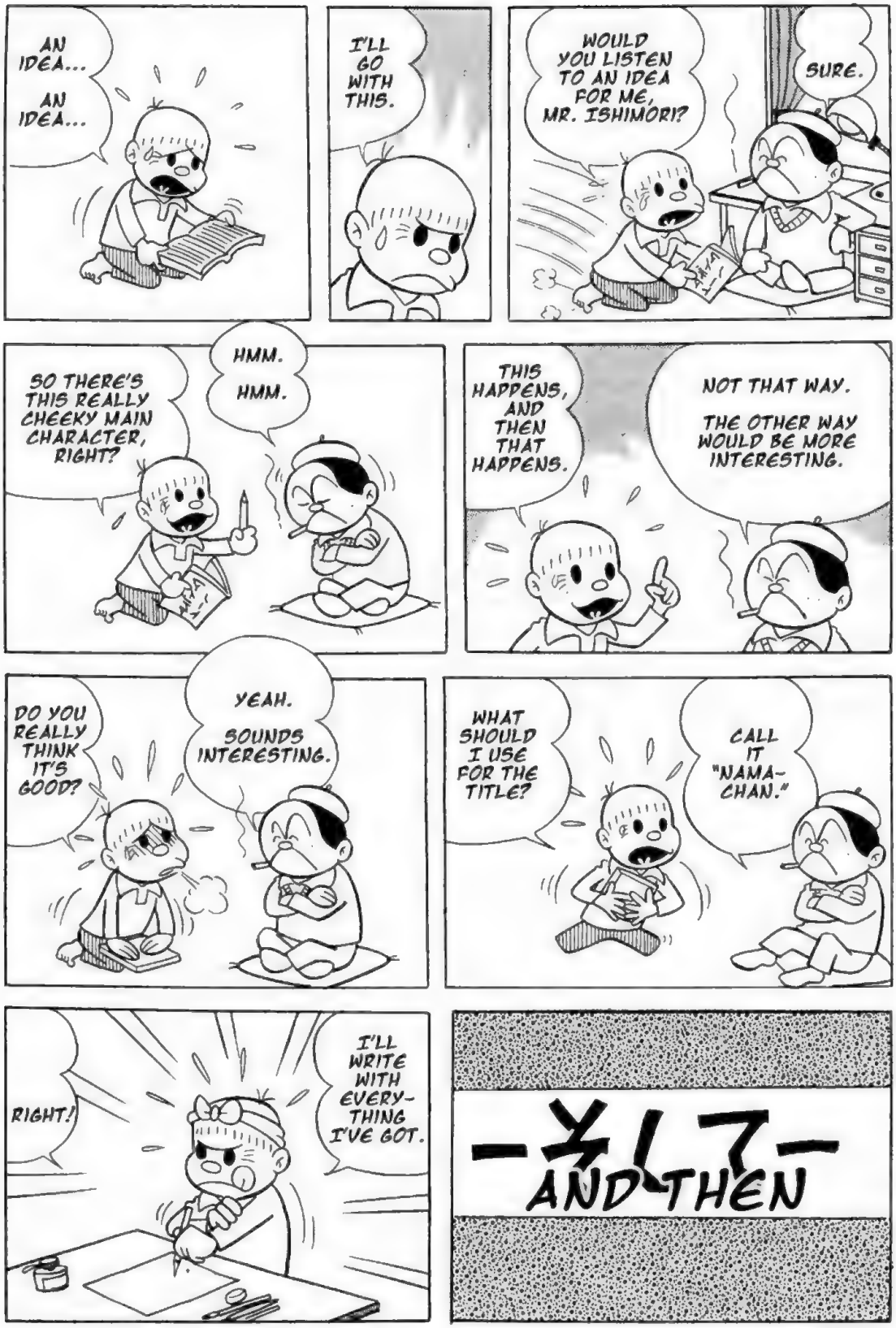
PICNIC
YABUNIRAMI NO BOUKUN
COBWEB CASTLE
LE SALAIRE DE LA PEUR
SHANE
DRUNKEN ANGEL
PETER PAN
THE SEVEN YEAR ITCH

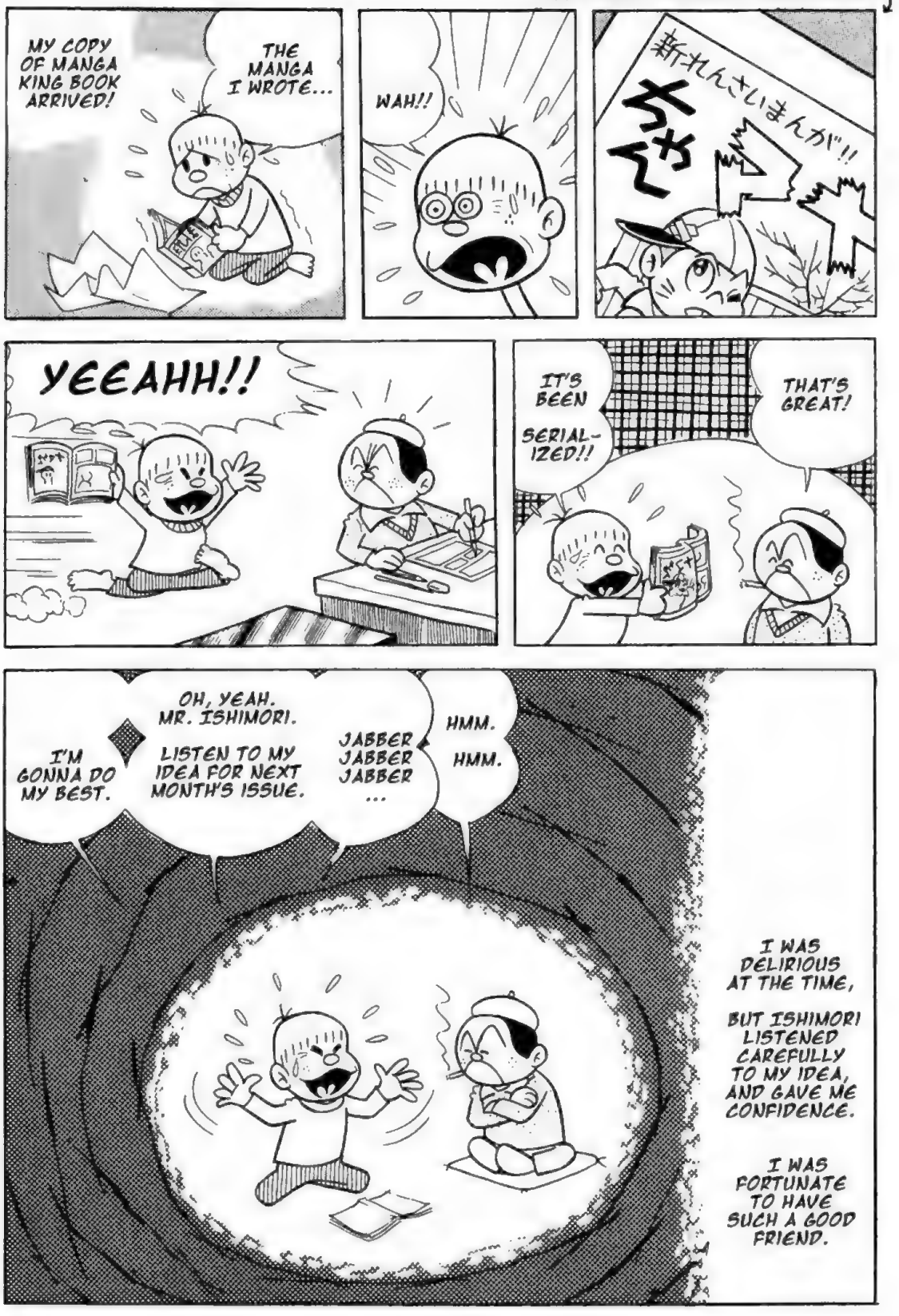

THE NEW YEAR IS JUST AROUND THE CORNER...
I'LL BE BACK JANUARY 7TH
I'M GOING BACK TO MY HOMETOWN.
REALLY?
OKAY.
DIRTY LAUNDRY
DIRTY LAUNDRY
WHAT'LL I DO? ISHIMORI WON'T BE TREATING ME TO MEALS UNTIL THE 7TH.
LUCKILY, I HAD SOME MOCHI THAT MY MOM SENT FROM BACK HOME
I'LL JUST HAVE TO EAT ZONI UNTIL THE 7TH.
NOW, TO MAKE THE BROTH.
ONLY 28 YEN.
I BOUGHT A SMALL BOTTLE OF SOY SAUCE WITH THE 28 YEN, AND MADE THE BROTH.
FUJIKO-SAN'S MOTHER GAVE ME SOME RADISHES.
I'LL MAKE IT LAST UNTIL THE 7TH.
LET ME STAY WITH YOU.
THAT NIGHT, MY FRIEND YOKOYAMA TAKAO CAME BY.

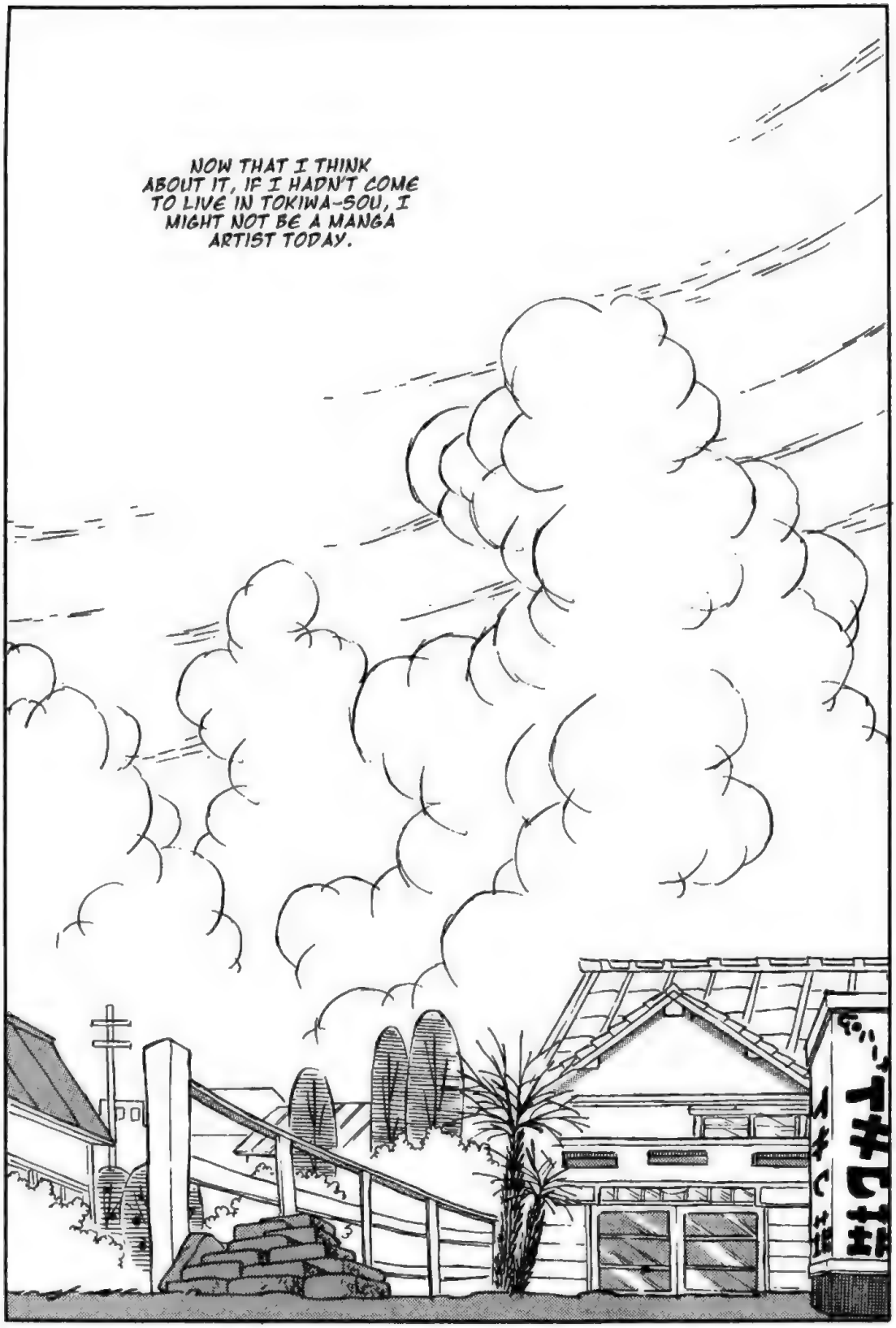

I JUST SAW "LA PART DE L'OMBRE" AND "PRELUDE A LA GLOIRE" AT THE JINSEIZA MOVIE THEATER.
MY FRIEND WAS ALSO A MOVIE FANATIC.
THIS SMELLS GREAT.
WANT SOME?
THE BROTH IS REALLY GOOD.
ONE MORE BOWL.
OH NO, IT'S ALL GONE!
BURP!
LET'S GO SEE "MANON" AND "LES AMANTS DE VERONE" TOMORROW.
WE COVERED THE BED WITH BOOKS TO KEEP WARM.
THE NEXT DAY YOKOYAMA TREATED ME TO THE MOVIES. HERE ARE THE TICKET STUBS.
すみ 552428
入場券
55円
日本政府
JINSEIZA THEATER AT IKEBUKURO
DECEMBER 31, 1956
"MANON" AND "LES AMANTS DE VERONE"
IT'S TOO BAD THAT GUY ATE ALL OF IT.


STILL, GOING TO MOVIES IS THE BEST...
I ATE PLAIN GRILLED MOCHI EVERY DAY, MORNING, AFTERNOON, AND NIGHT, UNTIL ISHIMORI CAME BACK ON THE 7TH.
I WANT TO CREATE A STORY LIKE A MOVIE, TOO.
MY JOB IN THOSE DAYS WAS WRITING GIRLS' MANGA. I WROTE A BOOK EVERY FOUR MONTHS. I GOT ABOUT ¥25,000 PER MANUSCRIPT.
I'M SICK OF WRITING GIRLS' STORIES.
I KEPT TAKING ADVANCES, AND SO WHENEVER I FINISHED A MANUSCRIPT, RATHER THAN GETTING PAID, I HAD TO TAKE ANOTHER ADVANCE.
I'M IN BIG TROUBLE. I HAVE TO TURN IN A MANUSCRIPT BY THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW.
I HAVE FORTY PAGES LEFT TO GO.
IT'S OKAY! I'LL HELP OUT.
I CAN HELP TOO.
IT WAS ONLY AT TIMES LIKE THIS THAT I WORKED WITH ASSISTANTS.
ALRIGHT. KEEP 'EM COMING!!
OK!

IT WAS ABOUT THEN THAT I DECIDED NOT TO GO TO BED UNTIL I HAD COME UP WITH AN IDEA.
THIS WAY I WON'T RUN OUT OF IDEAS.
RATHER THAN KEEPING A DIARY I WOULD WRITE DOWN THESE IDEAS.
I'M GOING TO BECOME A GAG MANGA WRITER.
SOMETIMES I DIDN'T GET ANY SLEEP AT ALL.
PLEASE SELL ME SOME PHILOPON*
I CAN'T SELL YOU THAT!
* A BRAND OF AMPHETAMINE
THEN, IN THE FALL OF SHŌWA 33
DID YOU HEAR ABOUT MANGA KING?
WE'VE GOT SPACE TO FILL -- WE NEED SOMEONE TO WRITE A GAG MANGA, AN EIGHT-PAGE ONE-SHOT.
IF IT'S GAGS YOU WANT, YOU SHOULD ASK AKATSUKA.
WELL THEN, WE LOOK FORWARD TO GETTING THAT EIGHT-SHOT PAGE ONE-SHOT BY TOMORROW MORNING.
Y... YES.
WHAT SHOULD I DO, MR. ISHIMORI?
WELL, DO YOUR BEST!


AN IDEA...
AN IDEA...
I'LL GO WITH THIS.
WOULD YOU LISTEN TO AN IDEA FOR ME, MR. ISHIMORI?
SURE.
SO THERE'S THIS REALLY CHEEKY MAIN CHARACTER, RIGHT?
HMM.
HMM.
THIS HAPPENS, AND THEN THAT HAPPENS.
NOT THAT WAY.
THE OTHER WAY WOULD BE MORE INTERESTING.
DO YOU REALLY THINK IT'S GOOD?
YEAH.
SOUNDS INTERESTING.
WHAT SHOULD I USE FOR THE TITLE?
CALL IT "NAMA-CHAN."
RIGHT!
I'LL WRITE WITH EVERY-THING I'VE GOT.
-そして-
AND THEN


MY COPY OF MANGA KING BOOK ARRIVED!
THE MANGA I WROTE...
WAH!!
新連載まんが!!
YEEAHH!!
IT'S BEEN SERIAL-IZED!!
THAT'S GREAT!
I'M GONNA DO MY BEST.
OH, YEAH. MR. ISHIMORI.
LISTEN TO MY IDEA FOR NEXT MONTH'S ISSUE.
JABBER JABBER JABBER ...
HMM. HMM.
I WAS DELIRIOUS AT THE TIME,
BUT ISHIMORI LISTENED CAREFULLY TO MY IDEA, AND GAVE ME CONFIDENCE.
I WAS FORTUNATE TO HAVE SUCH A GOOD FRIEND.


NOW THAT I THINK ABOUT IT, IF I HADN'T COME TO LIVE IN TOKIWA-SOU, I MIGHT NOT BE A MANGA ARTIST TODAY.

A Life in Manga

HASHIMOTO YORIMITSU

Translated by Baryon Tensor Posadas

Toward a Theory of "Artist Manga": Manga Self-Consciousness and the Transforming Figure of the Artist

THE ARTIST NOVEL AND THE ARTIST MANGA

The year following the release of Tezuka Osamu's *New Treasure Island* (1947, *Shin takarajima*) saw the publication of Dazai Osamu's *No Longer Human* (1948, *Ningen shikkaku*). Dazai's novel takes the form of the notebooks of a man who "never managed to become anything more impressive than an unknown, second-rate cartoonist employed by the cheapest magazines," all the while dreaming of becoming a painter. Told that his "composition is still not worth a damn"—criticism that was frequently hurled toward Tezuka as well—the man nonetheless continues to draw formulaic manga with titles like "The Adventures of Ota and Kinta" and "High Priest Nonki" to pay for his drinking habit, even as he sheds tears over the exceeding loneliness of his recollections of home.[1] *No Longer Human* is illustrative of the narrative formula known as the *Künstlerroman*, or "artist novel," wherein a young man who aspires to become an artist is either seduced by the city and the market only to be left discouraged and anguished, or alternatively sacrifices his life to his art without fully grasping the depths of his circumstances. The *Künstlerroman* made its timely appearance in the wake of the flourishing of Romanticism in

the nineteenth century, a period marked by the development of ideas of self-actualization and social discord thematized in forms like the *bildungsroman*. The desire to express oneself in artistic work that challenges the demands of society—which often resulted in anguish, resignation, cynicism, and clarity of vision—broadly solicited readers' sympathies in a modern society wherein commercialization had seemingly rendered everything subject to the whims of the laws of supply and demand.

This image of the artist is also intimately related to the rising status of the emergent genre of the novel. The "author" of the novel is granted the authority to describe the interiority of an artist, effectively endowing it with a presumed sense of authenticity. Romain Rolland's *Vie de Beethoven* (1903, Life of Beethoven) or William Somerset Maugham's *The Moon and Sixpence* (1919), with a story modeled on the life of Paul Gauguin, are just a few excellent examples. In addition, the theme of the genius toiling in obscurity in an attic, in the vein of the Van Gogh myth, arguably falls under this category as well. Through the invocation of painters or composers as practitioners of sister arts, the idealized novelist can be presented as a similar figure even as the novelist's narrativization of the artist's interiority and conflicts creates the appearance of something superior to the mere surface of painting or music. Furthermore, with fictions that make use of novelists or poets as protagonists, making up quotations from their supposed "masterpieces" would be difficult to do with any persuasive power. But with painting or music, indirect descriptions of the artists' work can sufficiently produce this effect. In effect, the ease of creating a narrative as metaphor or myth provides another rationale for the artist novel's popularization.

Another variation of the artist novel makes use of an ensemble cast. In these works, it is generally the impoverished artistic group that takes center stage. Prototypical texts include Giacomo Puccini's opera *La Bohème* (1896) as well as its source text, *Scènes de la vie de bohème* (1849) by Henri Murger, whose highly magnetic narratives were subsequently imitated and repeated in reality.[2] From out of these ensemble texts also emerged a subspecies of commercial novel that cynically depicts these collectives in inevitably flattering terms. George Gissing's *New Grub Street* (1891) is one example. Needless to say, it is not at all unusual that the writing of such autobiographical works led to the development of strategies for active self-fashioning and self-presentation.[3] Indeed, the representative poets of the nineteenth century English Romantics—Wordsworth, Shelley, Byron, and Keats—wrote autobiographical poems that made protagonists out of poets who were mere projections of themselves. These too emphasized the privilege and authenticity of poetry. In this respect,

it is possible to classify them as a type of artist novel that reached its pinnacle in Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916).[4]

Artist novels that served as the origin of such texts as *No Longer Human* have been succeeded by the rapid growth of manga following *New Treasure Island*. Just as the rise of disparate types of writing—ranging from artist novels that take up the sister arts, Bohemian collective novels, the muckraking novels that expose the journalism industry, and finally novels about novelists—contributed to the privileging of the social status of novels and novelists, a similar observation can be made for manga. For example, a wide variety of manga—manga about youth who travel to Tokyo with aspirations of becoming musicians, manga about the Tokiwa-sō apartments, semiautobiographical manga, and finally manga about manga artists—can similarly be grasped as "artist manga." All of these offer the potential to invigorate a theory of manga art.[5] This is because they open the possibility of tracing how manga up to now has appropriated the images of the artist, how it depicts various forms of art, as well as how it presents the self-consciousness of how manga is in itself "manga." While it would be impossible to fully track down this complex genealogy to its origins, what I wish to sketch out here is the establishment of the prototypical texts of artist manga and their subsequent transformations.

A WIDE VARIETY OF MANGA—MANGA ABOUT YOUTH WHO TRAVEL TO TOKYO WITH ASPIRATIONS OF BECOMING MUSICIANS, MANGA ABOUT THE TOKIWA-SŌ APARTMENTS, SEMIAUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MANGA, AND FINALLY MANGA ABOUT MANGA ARTISTS—CAN SIMILARLY BE GRASPED AS "ARTIST MANGA."

PORTRAIT OF THE MANGA ARTIST AS A YOUNG MAN: TEZUKA OSAMU

Tezuka Osamu was the first to inherit the legacy of the Romanticist artist novel that emerged during the nineteenth century and link this to manga in a characteristic form. Consider the illustrative fact that his *The Film Lives On* (1958–59, *Firumu wa ikiteiru*) uses the heading "The Heiligenstadt Testament" (*Hairigenshutatto no kisho*) as one of its chapter titles. Its now-familiar story is about manga creators who devote their lives to the production of animation. Yet when its protagonist has a moment of crisis upon losing his eyesight and contemplates suicide, he picks up *Vie de Beethoven* and reads the famous testament. This event leads him to give up his plan to kill himself. Indeed, alongside a depiction of a silhouette walking in a storm, we read the lines—

"I wished to die . . . but my art . . . it held me back . . . ah, I cannot die . . . not while the work bestowed upon me remains unaccomplished"—that Beethoven uttered as he lost much of his hearing. Although it does not cite the author by name, it seems likely that Katayama Toshihiko's 1938 translation of Romain Rolland's *Vie de Beethoven,* which was published and repeatedly reprinted by Iwanami Bunko, served as Tezuka's reference here. Included in the same text is Rolland's translated extract of the testament, within which the following passage appears: "Only a little time remains before my life is cut off. It is solely my 'art' that has held me back. It makes me realize that I cannot abandon this world while the work that gives me awareness of my mission has not been accomplished." It would appear that Tezuka paraphrased the passage so as to make it understandable to the middle school readership of the magazine in which he published. Romain Rolland again took up the life of Beethoven as a model when he wrote his archetypical artist novel *Jean Christophe* (1912). In the end, regardless of whether Tezuka directly referenced Rolland, it is nonetheless clear that he made use—without much revision—of the image of Beethoven as a celebrated composer that Rolland popularized.

Tezuka's larger goal is made evident through the connections he makes with Yoshikawa Eiji's stories of Miyamato Musashi. Tezuka's gesture here recalls something akin to the work of Kōda Rohan cast in the mold of an artisan's story, or Muramatsu Shōfu and Kawaguchi Matsutarō transformed into an actor's story, as if he was writing in the traditions of Hamano Noriyuki and the legends of Hidari Jingorō. However, because of its presumably juvenile readership, *The Film Lives On* does not go so far as to integrate either approach and unfortunately concludes as a half-baked and compromised product. To begin with, the setup wherein Miyamoto Musashi and Sasaki Kojirō compete in the arena of animated films appears to be set against the backdrop of martial-arts manga like *Akadō Suzunosuke* (1954–60) and *Igaguri-kun* (1952–54). Moreover, not that much skill is involved in Tezuka's use of a youthful story of a heated male rivalry only to turn it into the form of an artist novel. When Musashi is healed upon picking up *Vie de Beethoven* by way of the respected Dan Matsuma's testament (the name Dan Matsuma, a pun on "death throes," also suggests their common self-sacrificial attitude to the art) following his despair over the fateful loss of his senses, it simply appears as if he has discovered a mystery from a secret tome. In addition, there is a scene wherein Kojirō captures a swallow's movements with a giant pen the size of a broomstick while Musashi draws with two pencils in an allusion to a famous anecdote from the stories of Miyamoto Musashi. Unfortunately this setup is not given a payoff later on. While it certainly mirrors the duels at Ichijōji and Ganryūjima,

it is still difficult to call it effective. In *Manga College* (1950, *Manga daigaku*) and *Manga Classroom* (1952–54, *Manga kyōshitsu*), Tezuka incorporates his own manga as copies in the form of a play-within-a-play, and in the latter, ends up referencing *Igaguri-kun* as an example of bad manga. But perhaps because the manga revolves around the problem of motion—whether or not film is "alive"—the animation in production remains largely unrepresented in *The Film Lives On*. Even the works contesting the vote in the final film screening are mentioned without any summaries.

That said, it is striking that every artist drawn within the work is portrayed wearing a beret similar to the one Tezuka wears in his own self-portraits, thus giving emphasis to his own vision of artistic self-expression. In the manga, Musashi's mentor Dan Matsuma repeatedly redraws his work until he can find satisfaction with it, eventually leading to his dismissal from his company and his eventual despair and suicide, a death without resolution. As for Musashi and Kojirō, even before they succeed in putting together capital and gathering people around them for their animation projects, they end up finding work and serializing their manga, leading to a comfortable life. But this is depicted as a betrayal of their ideals. In the case of Musashi, even though his *Shonen Puck* work had made him a popular manga artist, a senior manga artist by the name of Shishido Baiken sees through his confusion, saying, "why don't you stick to the path you had set for yourself?" This leads Musashi to tell his editor-in-chief directly that he wishes to have his series with its two-million-strong readership cut. Thanks to his sympathetic editor, Musashi is able to cease working on his manga series and devote his attention to making animation. Likewise, Kojirō is embarrassed at his pride over the readership of his series, and so ends up challenging Musashi with his animation in a competition. While Musashi wins on the first day of the competition, by then he has already lost his eyesight. Aware of this fact, Kojirō quickly concedes even before the results from the second day on are declared. Consequently, the conclusion when Musashi appears at the theater and sees his film in his mind, despite his loss of vision, functions as a palimpsest of the moment of Beethoven's completion of the Ninth Symphony. Notably, at the time of the work's serialization in 1958, a large-scale Van Gogh exhibition had opened at the Tokyo National Museum. As Kinoshita Nagahiro's *Shisōshi toshte no Gohho: fukusei juyō to sōzōryoku* (1992, Van Gogh as intellectual history: Reproductive reception and the imagination) explains, following the historical footsteps of the founding of the Shirakaba school in 1911, the image of the artist as a truth-seeking martyr who gives up his life for his art became associated with the name of Van Gogh in Japan, Tezuka thus appears to have penned a

manga that inherits this legacy. With such scenes in *The Film Lives On* as that of Miyamoto Musashi eking out a living in the city by drawing portraits or his rage at the unsympathetic editor who tells him that his "manga needs to make more of a splash," Tezuka emulates the myth of the obscure painter toiling in an attic without any attempt at subversion.

A SCENE FROM A VAGABOND'S LIFE

One author who has managed to refine Tezuka's transplanted artist novel in a form appropriate for its targeted adolescent readership is Nagashima Shinji. His *Mangaka zankoku monogatari* (1961–63, The harsh story of a manga artist), which was first serialized two years after the appearance of *The Film Lives On*, does just this. The first page of the first volume, "Accident Insurance" (*shōgai hoken*), references Dazai Osamu's *No Longer Human* and offers the counter-argument that the lives of manga artists are perhaps not so much a tragedy but instead a grand comedy. Framed with this narration, the rest of the story focuses on a manga artist named Kawakami and moves to a conversation with other manga artists at their favorite cafe about the ideal manga and the ideal image of the manga artist. At the cafe, Kawakami says that he in fact detests manga, but "I would starve if I didn't draw them." This notion that the purpose of manga is ultimately little more than subsistence is identical to the model established by the narrator of *No Longer Human*. But with *Mangaka zankoku monogatari*, the story takes an ironic turn when Kawakami, who seeks to acquire insurance money because of an arm injury, has an accident and loses his right arm just as he discovers a passion for manga. In the final scenes, the juxtaposition of one of Kawakami's manga artist friends, who offers the pet theory that manga is art, and his editor, who snickers that at least his serial was ending that month. When both hear of Kawakami's accident, their positions provide a skillful contrast of the gap between an academic discussion and actual institutions. Even subsequent volumes repeatedly depict manga artists who go mad at being tossed about by the unfeeling waves of destiny and commercialism against all conscience and passion. The first volume that begins with the counterpoint of *No Longer Human*, the appearance of a manga youth in place of the literary youth in "Spoons" (1962, *Usunoro*), and the parody of Kurata Hyakuzō's *A Monk and His Apprentice* (1917, *Shukke to sono deshi*) (a work that Romain Rolland himself praised) in "A Manga Artist and His Apprentice" [1962, *Mangaka to sono deshi*]) all make clear that Nagashima is willfully following the tradition of the artist novel as a kind of *bildungsroman*.

Then there is his semiautobiographical manga *Fūten* (1967–70, Vagabonds), about a protagonist named "Nagahima Hinji" (a pun on the author's name meaning "a poor man spending idle time"), a man caught between the demands of ideals and reality, leading to his inability to write manga. Given its depiction of bohemians who have dropped out from life, this is a text that is best compared not with Henri Murger but instead with Francis Carco's *De Montmartre au Quartier latin* (1926). According to Kashima Shigeru's excellent commentary appended to the Kōdansha Gakujutsu paperback, all that remains of brilliant geniuses once they streak across the horizon are traces viewed from "the position of second-rate artists" who were unable to follow in their wake. While *Fūten* depicts the everyday lives of contemporary bohemians who hold feelings of frustration and nihilism, of those gathered in Shinjuku only Nagahima styles himself as a manga artist. Through this setup, it shows the sense of futility and hesitation at entering into competition in the marketplace that extends beyond the manga artist into something shared in common with readers. In the end, the vagabonds resolve a small incident, and then turn their eyes upward as the sun rises and a series of small low-angle panels opens up to the full-page panel.

Fūten was serialized in Tezuka's Mushi Production publication *COM*; its skillful expression of the feeling of alienation and collective solidarity in its famous full-page panel is put to another use by Tezuka himself in his semiautobiographical *Gachaboi's Record of One Generation* (1975, *Gachaboi no ichidaiki*) with a two-page spread that uses largely the same techniques. In 1961, two years after *The Film Lives On*, the Tezuka of *Gachaboi* establishes Mushi Productions and sets out for a career in the production of animation. After just barely getting onto the screen his work done in the spare moments of his busy life of a manga writer, Tezuka sets off toward the Shinjuku evening to the praise of his surrounding audience. The god of manga makes an appearance and the protagonists of Tezuka's manga give their blessing. Tezuka—surrounded by Atom, Leo, and other characters—is in high spirits upon hearing this. Yet, the next page shows Tezuka's silhouette alone in his merriment. Others cannot see the manga and anime characters around him, and they see Tezuka as little more than a rather odd drunk. Here, the difference between the two texts can be clearly contrasted: on the one hand, there is the sunrise that marks the beginnings of society's stirrings and the comrades of *Fūten*, who find it captivating precisely because of their alienation from society; on the other hand, there is the solitary Tezuka turned toward the sunset with a sense of accomplishment, joyous as he is surrounded by characters invisible to others present at the scene. They show that while Nagahima is indifferent to the anxiety that

FIGURE 1. Tezuka Osamu, "Gachapoi ichidaiki," *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū 179: Goddofaazaa no musuko* (Kodansha, 1982), 143. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

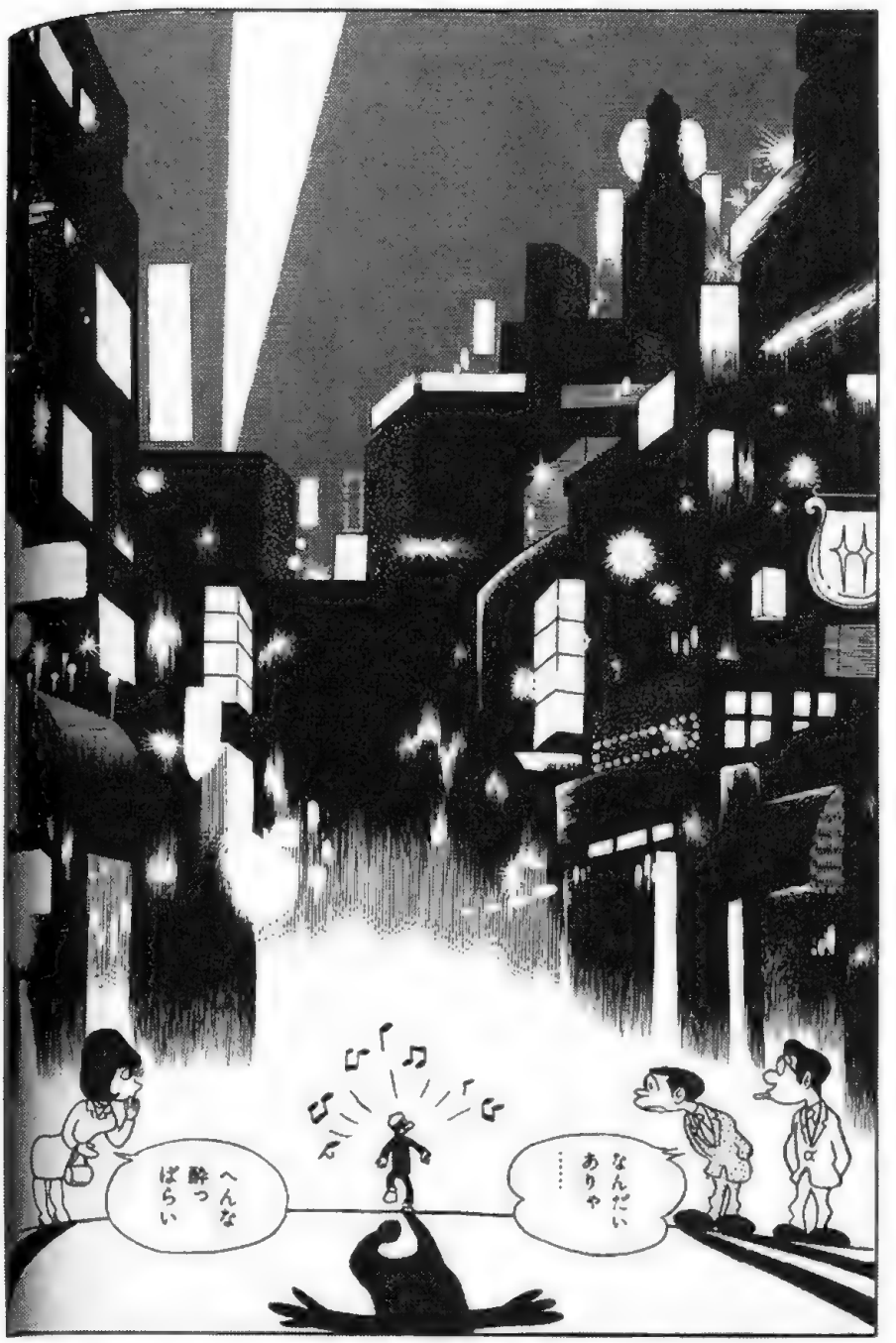


FIGURE 2. Tezuka Osamu, "Gachapoi ichidaiki," *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū 179: Goddofaazaa no musuko* (Kodansha, 1982), 144. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

he is no longer able to draw despite his slump stemming from the dullness of the manga he creates, Tezuka's lonely and aloof attitude detached from the anxiety of writer's block (ever writing to keep up with the flow of ideas) is reflected in his consideration of animation as nothing more than an extension of auteurism, despite the fact that its production is a collective endeavor. In fact, in *Gachaboi's Record of One Generation,* an old writer who looks exactly like Tezuka and is cruelly treated with the words "I don't care how many careers are involved, I don't need things I can't sell" makes an appearance. This kind of competition shares something in common with the depiction of the suicide of a popular manga artist who had become old-fashioned by the age of thirty-three in "Poor Mosquito" (1962, *Aware ga*), named after the Dazai short story from *Mangaka zankoku monogatari.* Although, of course, the manga industry was still in the process of development, both Nagashima's and Tezuka's works depict editors as either bill collectors or unsympathetic philistines, and treat the interventions of their assistants as little more than the introduction of impurities into the work of the author. Although Nagashima's depictions of manga artists largely do not involve any assistants, in *Gachaboi's Record of One Generation,* when the now-popular Tezuka enlists the aid of assistants Ishinomori Shōtarō and Fujiko Fujio, he is scolded by the god of manga for doing so. On this point, then, both authors diligently follow the auteurist model that is characteristic of the artist novel. But with *Gachaboi's Record of One Generation,* even though there are depictions of his anxiety over whether his own work will be accepted, unlike *Fūten* there are no depictions of the easygoing collectives or their alienation from society and commercialism.

However, as if in response to the concurrently serialized *Fūten,* Tezuka also released—alongside semiautobiographical manga in the vein of Nagashima's work—two titles that are arguably also representative artist-manga texts, namely *Phoenix: Hō-ō* (1968–70, *Hi no tori: hō-ō hen*) and *Barbara* (1973–75, *Barubora*). While they are plotted around a Buddhist sculptor in the case of the former and a contemporary novelist in the case of the latter, their representation of the figure of the artist is consistent with that of Dan Matsuma and Miyamoto Musashi from *The Film Lives On.* In other words, they depict the artist as one who creates for personal satisfaction, without regard for money or fame, even if it leads to the loss of one's life. *Phoenix* presents the conflict between Akanemaru, who is so dazzled by fame and social status that he ends up losing prestige, and Gaō, who, like Villon, after coming from unfortunate circumstances and repeatedly committing atrocious crimes, sublimates his anger and anguish into sculpture. For Tezuka to represent painting and sculpture directly is unusual; they are often concealed in random scribblings

such as in the face of *Hyōtantsugi.* But in *Phoenix,* the characters themselves express admiration at Tezuka's own depiction of a masterpiece gargoyle. As for *Barbara,* as suggested by its opening with the title character's recitation of Ueda Bin's and Nagai Kafū's translation of a line from Paul Verlaine, its story directly follows in the footsteps of the mythic image of destructive poets.[6] Here, it also calls to mind Nagashima's *Fūten* in that the fickle muse Barbara takes the form of a Shinjuku homeless person. When she abandons the writer Mikura, he ends up unable to write, but predictably, the narrative closes with him conscious of his own death as he writes his chronicle of events thus far into a reflexive "masterpiece."

Tezuka continued to present such stories of artists who are unable to skillfully compromise with the commercialism of works of popular entertainment using various settings. For example, the "Dying Painting" episode of his *Black Jack* (1975, *Burakku jakku: "E ga shindeiru"*) is a story about a painter named Go-Gyan (a too-obvious allusion to Gauguin) who completes a painting of the tragedy of a nuclear test while he is on the verge of death. Illustrating the idea of regarding physical pain and mental anguish in the same light, Go-Gyan is only able to make a successful painting after the relapse of the pain of radiation sickness. Similar examples from *Black Jack* can also be added: the rehash of *The Film Lives On* in "Animation Program Solomon" (1978, *Ugoke Soromon*), and "Finish" (1978, *Shimekukuri*), which revolves around a writer who decides to complete a series in his few remaining days after surviving a medical operation. In addition, there is also *Rainbow Parakeet* (1981–82, *Nanairo inko*), whose narrative uses characters in its various stories that allude to theater from different times and places, hence turning it into a variant of the artist novel. For example, these include a painter who incorporates into his work the performance of the daughter on her deathbed from Okamoto Kidō's *Shuzenji monogatari* (1911, Tale of Shuzenji) in a move that can also be contrasted with Akutagawa Ryūnosuke's *Jigokuhen* (1918, Hell screen), or an actor who polishes his performance for the play *The Lower Depths* by living in poverty, not to mention the one-time actor Kozuki Mawashi who dies on stage when he performs the titular role in *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1897) in defiance of his serious injuries. Indeed, with Kozuki's performance of Cyrano, as much as this might be characterized as an act that is above and beyond the call of duty, the fact that his character is identical to the big-nosed Gaō within Tezuka's Star System also leaves traces of the superimposition of the image of the artist with self-portraiture. That is, as hinted at by Tezuka's portrait of himself as a beret-wearing artist, it invokes a superimposition with Tezuka himself.[7] One of Tezuka's final works was the manga biography of Beethoven *Rūdouihi B.*

(1987–89, Ludwig B.). I wonder if this might not be—as anticipated by his accumulating artist manga—Tezuka's attempt, touched off by the release of the film *Amadeus* (1984), at a rewrite of Romain Rolland's Beethoven stories for which *The Film Lives On* could only trace the outlines.[8]

While Tezuka transplanted to the publishing world of commercial manga the image of the artist as an exceptional talent in the vein of Beethoven or Van Gogh, through the years he also left us with artist manga that inverted this theme of the totally committed artist seen thus far. One such unconventional work was the seventh episode of *Dasuto 8* (1981, Dust 8). This work tells the story of the accidental revival of the dead when the stone of life is unwittingly brought home. Two dead individuals then acquire the stone and use it to take other lives. The relative unpopularity of this work led to its cancellation midway through its circulation, only to be substantially revised upon its inclusion in a collected works edition. The changes are detailed in Nikaidō Reito's *Bokura ga aishita Tezuka Osamu 2* (2008, The Tezuka Osamu we loved 2), but what is important is that the seventh episode was newly written specifically for the collection. In it, the dead visit a destitute painter who is unable to sell any of his work. Angered by his landlord, who denounces his work as useless, and thinking that he might be recognized only after his death, just as Van Gogh and Modigliani were, he agrees to die on the condition that they revive him after thirty years. However, the future diverges from his expectations and his name has been completely forgotten (indeed his name does not even appear within the work), leading him to realize his lack of talent. But a young genius painter giving a press conference at the art gallery turns out to be the unsympathetic landlord's son, who tells him that regardless of the inferiority of his work, it nonetheless inspired the young artist to begin painting. Upon hearing these words of respect for him as a teacher, he ascends to heaven satisfied.

As a consequence of the time lag in its publication and Tezuka's own indecisiveness, the seventh episode of *Dust 8* changes the depiction of the ages of the dead man and woman who serve as the manga's principal protagonists as they move from one episode to another. This reflects Tezuka's vacillation in the direction of the story and art, thus leaving the manga uncoordinated even after its substantial rewriting. Further, Tezuka's writing of the seventh episode in 1981 coincided with his work on *Rainbow Parakeet*. Subsequent to this, Tezuka strangely saw little success with his shōnen manga.[9] But even if the work in question can be called a failure, might it not be a sacrificial "brilliant failure" that served to construct the foundations for later brilliant successes? As such, is it not a work that is in close alignment with Tezuka's own deep-seated desires? Indeed, regardless of whether they were directly influenced by

Tezuka's manga, several examples of repetitions of similar techniques have appeared in later manga. As a case in point, the setup of the story in *Dust 8*, which depicts a visit from the dead that raises the question of how to spend one's little remaining time in the world or one's so-called purpose of death, brings to mind Mase Motoro's *Ikigami* (2005–, *Ikigami: The Ultimate Limit*).

FROM FINE-ARTS MANGA TO MANGA-ARTIST MANGA

All of this shows that Tezuka and Nagashima constructed the prototypes for the artist manga out of the materials left by the legacy of the literary-artist novel. Both authors also superimposed onto themselves the conventional image of the artist (symbolized by the beret-wearing portrait of Tezuka), thus also consciously putting into practice the elevation of the artistic status of manga as well. Consequently, as the story of the seventh volume of *Dust 8* hints at, even if the artist manga did not reach its full potential with them, the diverse forms it has taken today should be understood as variations on their themes. To use an example from music, Ninomiya Tomoko's *Nodame Cantabile* (2001–10, *Nodame Kantābire*) and Yazawa Ai's *Nana* (2000–) emulate everything from the staging of bohemian collectives to the traditional *bildungsroman* in what may very well be seen as a throwback move. In contrast, Asano Inio's *Solanin* (2005–6, *Soranin*) follows in the footsteps of Nagashima to the extent that it would not be at all unusual had its story appeared within the *Mangaka zankoku monogatari* series itself.

In positing a detailed genealogy of artist manga here in this way, one other point that I wish to highlight is the existence of fine-arts manga. As I noted previously, in Tezuka's *Phoenix, Book of Hō-ō,* the gargoyle in the story is depicted precisely as a masterpiece. Often though, out of modesty perhaps, Tezuka conceals representations of famous works in either rough scribblings or abstractions. The determination here to regard not some abstractions but a creation that Tezuka himself has drawn as art or highly valued artistic objects (as the text indicates) suggests a transformation in the consciousness of manga and manga artists. On this point, Hōjō Tsukasa's *Kyattsu ai* (1981–84, *Cat's Eye*) can be seen as a transitional example. The paintings that the three master burglar sisters steal, which were originally their long-lost father's, are indeed elaborately drawn, but nonetheless their value is still linked to the fact they are the painter's daughters. In contrast, in Saeki Kayono's *Akihi* (1986–92), several famous paintings are drawn as extensions of the surrounding people

and objects. And the titular Akihi, who is a famous gallery owner disguised as a regular high school girl, makes use of this narcissistic setup to feed her fascination for a famous painting that appears to be her portrait. Several fine-arts manga like these titles were published during the 1990s. This took place against the backdrop of large numbers of art objects coming to Japan from abroad in the context of ample economic influence. In addition, this period also coincided with the beginning of Japanese manga's recognition within the same art commodity markets centered in Europe and North America.

Perhaps the best example of a work that illustrates these changes in attitudes toward manga art is Hosono Fujihiko's series *Gyararii feeiku* (1992–2005, *Gallery Fake*). First, there is the *Ingurando no netsuke* arc (1995, "Netsuke of England"), which hints at the underestimation of Western-oriented Japanese intellectuals such as Takamura Kōtarō's *Netsuke no kuni* (1910, *The Land of Netsuke*). In this episode, a Westernized art critic loses face when he deprecates a Japanese *netsuke* miniature sculpture, dismissing it as tasteless Orientalism, despite the fact that it is widely regarded in England. Subsequently, as if in response to this, there is also *Kyara tachinu* (1999, "Character rising"). Here, an artisan of cell phone straps is shocked when he learns of *netsuke* and decides to open a one-man exhibition in New York as an independent "cell phone character artist." Illustrated within the new *netsuke* "masterpiece" is a Japanese aesthetic distinct from the West but one that has at once interiorized the traces of a Japonism discovered through the West. With *Karisuma shingan* (2001, "Charismatic authenticity"), although it depicts an artist who is reminiscent of Murakami Takashi in that he runs a subculture "rip-off shop" (*pakuriya*), as far as their aesthetics are concerned the only difference is the matter of one's awareness of Japonism. As an artist manga, then, *Gyararii feeiku* adopts not the viewpoint of the artist but instead the conservative standpoint of the technician, who embodies the "real artist" in the form of authentic "Japanese traditions." What is important here, as embodied in the manga *Zero* (1990–) by Ai Eishi and Satomi Kei, is how the manga in itself functions to reproduce the real work of art. The presentation of artwork from around the world—alongside fictional works—does not generate a sense of uncanny incongruity. Except, as the title "gallery fake" itself indicates, the narrative that revolves around the issue is not only about reproduction but about the boundary that separates truth from fiction and how it places value. This is not unrelated to how, unlike Satomi, *Gyararii feeiku* takes a technical attitude to its own artwork.

In this respect, in the refinement of fine-arts manga through the 1990s—regardless of whether manga is considered a fine art or a narrative form—it is

no longer unusual for the artwork within the text to be presented as a "masterpiece" or a "famous work." This is indicative of the evolution of manga artwork to its limits, such that even if there are deformations, the use of a caricature-like kind of modesty seen in Tezuka's use of the Hyōtantsugi character no longer enters the picture as a key element. Consequently, apropos of manga's period of maturity wherein "famous works" are self-referentially cited within the manga text no longer appear symbolically but are instead drawn as "famous works," a new generation of artist manga has come into the forefront in recent years. One such work is Karasawa Naoki's *Manga scoundrels* (2007–, *Manga gokudō*). Another is Ōba Tsugumi and Obata Takeshi's *Bakuman* (2008–12). With the former, even as it follows in the footsteps of Nagashima Shinji's *Mangaka zankoku monogatari*, it diverges from Nagashima's auteurist premise of equivalence between the work and authorial interiority. Instead, it skillfully caricatures those people who have been taken in and tossed about by the new conception of the "manga artist's" individual growth. Here, then, unlike the earlier image of the manga artist that was little more than an extension of the image of the novelist, when the various forms taken by the figure of the manga artist from the present manga industry are surveyed, it would appear that artist manga have taken on a new meaning of "manga-artist manga."

IN THE REFINEMENT OF FINE-ARTS MANGA THROUGH THE 1990S, IT IS NO LONGER UNUSUAL FOR THE ARTWORK WITHIN THE TEXT TO BE PRESENTED AS A "MASTERPIECE" OR A "FAMOUS WORK."

This characterization is likewise also applicable to the case of *Bakuman*. The two young boys serialize a popular manga and take charge of its source text and artwork, then concentrate their effort on making their anime adaptation a success in the market. But at the outset, they express little interest in interior depth, be it in literary or artistic terms. On this point, Murakami Takashi himself points out in his *Geijutsu tōsō ron* (2010, A theory of art conflict) that the intersections between his own strategies and *Bakuman* are exceedingly suggestive. Neither Murakami nor the pair from *Bakuman* take on the equivalence between the work and interiority or express contempt for marketing but instead work with editors and art dealers. They differ markedly from the self-portrait that Gissing cynically presents in *New Grub Street*. Without a sense of inferiority or animosity toward art, *Bakuman* references as a role model not Beethoven but *Ashita no jō* (1968–73, *Tomorrow's Joe*). Further, through their use of secondary characters, they repeatedly subvert the formulae of past artist manga. Assistants taken in by the conventional image of the manga artist end up unable to become manga artists, or alternatively

run into the predicament of having to draw portraits to earn an income. Novelists switch over to become manga authors. An assistant chooses to become a manga artist and not a painter as his family wishes. Finally, when the carefully drawn relations with assistants themselves are contrasted with the auteurism of artist manga thus far, an extensive transformation becomes evident.

It was with *Death Note* (2003–6) that the two creators of *Bakuman*—Ōba Tsugumi and Obata Takeshi—were catapulted into fame, and this work, too, is one that marks the transformation in the relationship between manga, the visual arts, and literature. It tells the story of a young man granted the ability to freely kill anyone through a contract with a god of death and the mental battle to stop him. Because of the setup of the manga that is unusual for a shōnen magazine, it gained more prominence than would be expected. Indeed, given how it revolves around a protagonist who has an uncommon mind and who seeks justification for each murder he commits in a kind of superman theory, and a contrastingly depicted virginal young woman who aids him, it is not without a certain resemblance to Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* (1866). That said, this does not necessarily mean that it takes *Crime and Punishment* as its model. What is significant here is that it likely does not even consciously allude to Dostoyevsky. While Tezuka made use of European literature as a source, incorporating a deal with the devil and the superman theory in *Faust* (1950) and *Crime and Punishment* (1953), a half-century later the same themes that Dostoyevsky deployed see further development in shōnen manga. Finally, in 2007, Obata Takeshi (who was responsible for the duo's artwork) drew the cover for a new edition of Dazai's *No Longer Human* and ignited its reappraisal by manga readers, thus recalling the beginning and closing the circle of this discussion. What I have examined here is the issue of manga's maturation *as manga,* and with that in mind, one destination may very well be how "artist manga" has properly become "manga-artist manga."

Notes

1. Dazai Osamu, *Ningen shikkaku* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1990); translated by Donald Keene as *No Longer Human* (New York: New Directions, 1958), 97, 118.

2. For a discussion of the representation of bohemians and the complementary mythic image of Paris, see Imahashi Eiko's *Itoshōkei: Nihonjin no pari* (Yearning for another city: The Paris of Japanese travellers) (Tokyo: Kashiwa shobō, 1993).

3. Needless to say, this was not restricted to just the modern period, but it is worth noting the extent of the cross-pollinating influence between literature and the visual arts during the nineteenth century. For example, in the case of visual art, see Miura Atsushi, *Kindai geijutsuka no hyōshō: Mane, Fantan-Ratūru to 1860-nendai no Furansu egaki*

(Representations of modern artists: Manet, Fantin-Latour, and French painting of the 1860s) (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 2006).

4. Darby Lewes, ed., *Auto-poetica: Representations of the Creative Process in Nineteenth Century British and American Fiction* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2006).

5. On this point, despite differences in methodology, my argument overlaps with Saika Tadahiro's in "'*Manga wo egaku koto' wo mangaka tachi wa ika ni egaita no ka*" (How have manga artists drawn the drawing of manga?), in Jacqueline Berndt, ed., *Sekai no komikkusu to komikkusu no sekai* (World comics and the world of comics) (Kyoto: Kyoto seika daigaku kokusai manga kenkyū sentā, 2010). Many thanks to Jacqueline Berndt for pointing me to this essay.

6. Aside from this, a poem that quotes the adventures of "a dog and a woman" to good effect, while not providing a reference, is from Saijō Yaso's translation of W. B. Yeats's "A Drinking Song" (1916).

7. For example, in line with Fujiko Fujio's conjecture in *Mangadō* (1970, The art of manga) that after being deeply moved by *New Treasure Island* and *Lost World* (1948, *Rosuto wārudo*), Tezuka seemingly takes on a face like Beethoven's, with the effect of constructing in concert both Tezuka's own self-fashioning and the form of artist manga.

8. His frustration with the cancellation of *Nobara yo itsu utau* (1960–61, Wild rose, when will you sing?), whose story centers on the Schumann couple and has Beethoven in his twilight years also make an appearance, was likely also a factor. As Nikaidō Reito points out in *Bokura ga aishita Tezuka Osamu* (The Tezuka Osamu we loved) (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2006), notwithstanding the fact that Tezuka mentions the discontinuation of the magazine as the reason for its cancellation, in the afterword of *Niji no pureryūdo* (1958, Rainbow prelude), the truth is that it was dropped after only five episodes serialized, even before the magazine's closure.

9. Although at first the *Rainbow Parakeet*, like Mikura from *Barbara*, conceals his eyes beneath sunglasses, midway through the story, Tezuka began drawing his eyes through the lenses. Even in the story, self-reference and caricatured elements begin to recur in what is seemingly indicative of a momentary derailment. However, that this derailment is smoothed over through allusions to Abe Kōbō's absurd play *Bō ni natta otoko* (1969, *The Man Who Turned into a Stick*) or Luigi Pirandello's metafictional *Six Characters in Search of an Author* (1921, *Sei personaggi in cerca d'autore*) are both Tezuka's strength and weakness as a man of culture.

RYAN HOLMBERG

Manga Shōnen: Katō Ken'ichi and the Manga Boys

> Manga Shōnen . . . *what sweet-sounding words. Let's say it again.* Manga Shōnen. *I feel my chest tighten, such nostalgia arises.* Manga Shōnen *was my youth's first love . . . My first love, where have you gone?*
>
> —Tatsumi Yoshihiro, "*Manga Shōnen* wo aisu" (I miss *Manga Shōnen*)

So pined Tatsumi Yoshihiro in 1981, twenty-six years after the legendary magazine had folded, on the occasion of the first serious retrospective of its legacy: Terada Hiroo's *A History of "Manga Shōnen."*[1] It was where he and his elder brother Sakurai Shōichi had competed against one another to get published in the monthly reader-submissions contest, Sakurai winning first in March 1949, then Tatsumi in July, then pooling their resources and appearing side by side in 1950 as leaders of the Children's Manga Association (*Kodomo Manga Kenkyūkai*), their own amateur comics club, purportedly postwar Japan's first.[2]

Sakurai wrote, also in 1981, on the same occasion, "How we got to know, willy-nilly, the ABC's of making manga was through *Gakudōsha*'s 1948-founded *Manga Shōnen*. The great children's manga artists from both the prewar and

the postwar congregated there, testing their skills one against another. It was a dazzling spectacle, but at the same time it was *the* source of information on the world of manga, the textbook, the gateway."[3]

Among the prewar guard of *Manga Shōnen* were Shimada Keizō, author of the colonialist fantasy *The Adventurous Dankichi* (1933–39, *Bōken Dankichi*), Tagawa Suihō, author of *Norakuro* (1931–41), and Haga Masao, the preeminent author of animal comics and picture books during the late 1930s and wartime '40s. On the postwar side was, above anyone else, Tezuka Osamu. It was in *Manga Shōnen* that his first large-scale magazine serial was published, *Jungle Emperor* (1950–54, *Janguru taitei*), about the white lion prince who learns the language and ways of the humans, and then returns to Africa to lead the animal kingdom. It was there that the first chapters of *Phoenix* (1954–55, *Hi no tori*) appeared. It was also home to his *Manga Classroom* (1952–54, *Manga kyōshitsu*), a how-to tutorial more inspirational than practical, designed to lend authority and not a little star glamour to the magazine's reader submissions pages.

OUT OF THAT CRUCIBLE EMERGED NOT JUST ISHINOMORI AND TATSUMI BUT MANY OF THE TOP SELLERS AND INNOVATORS OF POSTWAR MANGA, INCLUDING ABIKO MOTŌ AND FUJIMOTO HIROSHI OF THE FUJIKO FUJIO DUO AND THE KING OF GAG MANGA AKATSUKA FUJIO.

"When I hear the name *Manga Shōnen,*" recalled Ishinomori Shōtarō, the Guinness-recognized world's most prolific cartoonist, "I immediately think of the color red. That's red as in postbox red. How many times did I stick a letter or a postcard in praying for it to be accepted? The very first hurdle I had to cross was that mouth of the postbox."[4] The idea of reader submissions was not original, existing in newspapers and magazines since before the war, but *Manga Shōnen* carried it out on an unprecedented scale. Out of that crucible emerged not just Ishinomori and Tatsumi but many of the top sellers and innovators of postwar manga, including Abiko Motō and Fujimoto Hiroshi of the Fujiko Fujio duo and the king of gag manga Akatsuka Fujio. Submitting there were also boys who ended up famous in other fields, including graphic designers Yokoo Tadanori and Tanaami Keiichi, painter Tateishi Tiger, photographer Shinoyama Kishin, and novelists Komatsu Sakyō and Tsutsui Yasutaka. It was the place where aspiring creators from across Japan first saw their names in print, spurring many of them to better their skills to compete against their peers.

Manga Shōnen also inspired a few amateur comics clubs. In addition to Tatsumi and Sakurai's in Osaka, there was also Ishinomori's East Japan Manga Research Association (*Higashi Nihon Manga Kenkyūkai*) in Miyagi. Like

FIGURE 1 (LEFT). *Manga Shōnen* (November 1952), cover by Ōtsuki Sadao and Nagata Toshio, showing Tezuka Osamu doll in diorama. Collection of Kawasaki City Museum. **FIGURE 2 (RIGHT).** *Manga Shōnen* (May 1954), cover by Sawai Ichisaburō. Collection of Kawasaki City Museum.

the Fujiko Fujio duo in Toyama, each had their own coterie magazines, hand-drawn and single-copy, passed from member to member, sometimes across thousands of miles, and in some cases eventually on to pros and publishers in Tokyo. In many cases, it was these *dōjinshi* that brought their organizers their first professional commissions, and that opened the door to their first face-to-face meetings with their hero, Tezuka Osamu.

"In hindsight, the value of *Manga Shōnen* lay in that part of it that was not directed toward the masses or general populace, that was only recognized by a portion of manga maniacs."[5] When manga critic and author Masaki Mori wrote those words for *COM* in 1968, he was speaking directly to the latter magazine's attempt, inspired in part by *Manga Shōnen* and part by its rival *Garo*, to nurture a new wave of amateur talent and provide support for the various manga fan circles that had begun to mushroom across Japan, especially on university campuses, in the second half of the 1960s. *Manga Shōnen* also provided the inspiration for *Grand Companion*, *COM*'s reader supplement, which in turn spawned Comic Market, the manga fanzine fair that began in 1975 as a one-day, one-room annual gathering for about seven hundred people but has grown today into a twice-yearly, three-day extravaganza for

the small-city equivalent of 500,000.[6] No doubt, in the history of fandom as a creative force in postwar Japan, *Manga Shōnen* has been seminal.

From a certain point of view, *Manga Shōnen* had always aimed at becoming the original manga lover's manga magazine. After all, the magazine was named "Manga boys"—describing not comics that are defined by a specific readership (as is the case with the generic phrase "*shōnen manga,*" or "boys' comics") but rather readers that are defined by their relationship to a particular medium. And by the early 1950s, in an age when illustrated prose and the half-text and half-image medium of *emonogatari* were still dominant in youth magazines, more than two-thirds of *Manga Shōnen*'s pages were given over to comics. Likewise, the inaugural issue's table of contents page included the following manifesto:

> Manga brightens a child's heart
> Manga lightens a child's heart
> That is why children like nothing more than manga
> *Manga Shōnen* is a book that will brighten and lighten children's hearts
> *Manga Shōnen* offers stories [*shōsetsu*] and other types of literature [*yomimono*] that will nurture a child's heart to be pure and proper [*kiyoku tadashiku*]
> Each and every work is a masterpiece
> Children of Japan. Read *Manga Shōnen* and grow pure, bright, and proper!![7]

However, even in that manifesto one can read a divergent purpose. Manga might be the focus, but it is assigned specific and possibly lesser roles. It "brightens" and "lightens" while prose makes "pure and proper." It makes the child happy while prose makes him strong and upright. In fact, while comics were foregrounded in the magazine's title and editorial copy, for its first years more than half of *Manga Shōnen*'s pages were filled with character-building prose.

This division in media and the economy of their combination has roots in an earlier age, growing out of philosophies concerning proper male youth entertainment established in the 1920s, and those concerning the proper supporting role for manga that developed subsequently in the 1930s. What I would like to focus on in the present essay is the magazine's founding and early years that were shaped by the artistic and ideological prerogatives of the pre-1945 period. *Manga Shōnen* might live forever in legend as the first love of "manga boys," but it was born and reared as a very different kind of enterprise.

The prewar roots of *Manga Shōnen* could not be easier to prove. After all, the magazine was conceived and published by Katō Ken'ichi (1896–1975), a giant in the history of twentieth-century Japanese children's culture.[8] Born in Hiromae in the northern prefecture of Aomori in the late nineteenth century, Katō grew up in a climate of high national pride, supported by strong ideologies of national character formation, colonial expansion, and war victories over China and Russia. As a middle school student, Katō frequented meetings of the "Steel & Snow Society" (*"Tessetsusha"*), a right-wing group that aimed to make its male members "As Hard as Steel, As Pure as Snow." Following graduation in 1916, Katō ran the group's newsletter, "Cherry Blossoms of Japan" (*"Yamato no sakura"*), his first editorial job. After a short stint as a schoolteacher in Aomori, he moved to Tokyo in 1918 and found a job with Kōdansha in 1921. Within the year, he was put in charge of *Shonen Club* (*Shōnen Kurabu*), a monthly magazine aimed at boys roughly between grades five and eight. Founded in 1915, *Club* differentiated itself from other children's magazines of the Taishō period by emphasizing character formation rather than (what was usual at the time) the magic of childhood itself. Its main goal, as Satō Tadao put it in 1959, was to instill a spirit of righteousness and romantic idealism so that boys could become proper men.[9] And that is how the magazine has usually been remembered since.

FIGURE 3. *Shōnen Club* (September 1932), cover by Saitō Ioe.

Under Katō's stewardship, *Shonen Club* became Japan's leading boys' magazine. In ten years, its print run increased almost nine-fold, from 80,000 at the time Katō joined the magazine's staff to over 700,000 at the end of 1932, the last year he served as head editor.[10] Its success is oftentimes summed up in the following phrase, Kōdansha's company slogan: "*Omoshirokute, tameni naru*"—"Fun and good for you." The ideal, Kōdansha founder Noma Seiji

ITS MAIN GOAL WAS TO INSTILL A SPIRIT OF RIGHTEOUSNESS AND ROMANTIC IDEALISM SO THAT BOYS COULD BECOME PROPER MEN.

(1878–1938) explained soon after *Club*'s founding, was "not something that adults force their children to read, but something children enjoy and choose themselves to read. And thus while they are reading and having fun, they will, without knowing or realizing it, receive a kind of education."[11] If one or the other, *Club* is probably better remembered for the "good for you" side, as represented by the fairly humorless genre of the *nekketsu shōsetsu,* the "hot-blooded novel," serialized *bildungsroman* aimed at teaching boys proper manliness. President Noma again: "What we should aim to impart to youth is the imperative of becoming 'great men' upon the central principle of moral education."[12] While *Norakuro* and *Club*'s insert premiums marked the magazine as an enterprise at the forefront of modern entertainment and consumer culture, its simultaneous emphasis on character building showed it to be at heart founded on rather conservative social values. The competitive "superior student" (*yūtōsei*), *risshin shusse* ("making it in the world"), and *chūkun aikoku* ("loyalty to the emperor, love of nation")—all first advanced during the rise of the Japanese Empire under the Meiji state—became the leitmotifs of *Club*'s prose.[13]

During Katō's time, the subjects were relatively cosmopolitan. Patriots from Japanese history dominated, while Napoleon and Abraham Lincoln also had their life stories told. If such "great men" were one side of the genre, Horatio Alger–type great-men-to-be were the other. The classic here is Satō Kōroku's *Ah, Blossoms in the Chalice* (1927–28, *Aa, gyokuai ni hana ukete*), about a school-aged boy who overcomes poverty to become an excellent student and role model for his community, proving to his wealthier peers that hard work, honesty, and courage—not wealth and power—make an individual truly noble. It is often argued that such lessons agreed with contemporary ideals of national subjectivity as promoted by the Japanese state, and indeed Katō himself later stated that his support for the *nekketsu* genre was informed by having associated with the rightwing Steel & Snow Society in his youth.[14] Still it is worth noting that it was mainly after Katō's tenure at *Club* ended in 1932 that the magazine became—how it has often been remembered since 1945—the nation's leading organ in promoting the virtues of the soldier's sacrifice and the wonder of the expanding colonial periphery among Japan's male youth. For many of the Kōdansha circle, the "hot-blooded novel" and its principles of personal striving and moral character were so basic as to be adaptable across political situations—and so it would be in the postwar period.

Given this Meiji-esque reputation, it is often forgotten that *Club* also had

its purely "fun" side. While one could speak of the long-running "Funny Talk" ("*Warai banashi*") column, with its comic stories of everyday mishaps and misunderstandings at home and in the classroom, the "*omoshiroi*" was more memorably expressed in the magazine's manga pages.[15] In addition to serials like *Norakuro* and *Dankichi*, since the late 1920s *Club* had also included a handful of mainly single-page comics. In style they largely held to the motifs and sense of humor of the older Meiji/Taishō–era children's "Punch" pictures, narrating the unfolding of a pratfall or gag over the course of four panels, taking on more and more of the graphic sensibilities of modernist design and American and European "nonsense cartoons" over the course of the 1930s.[16] A turning point in both *Club*'s commitment to manga and the medium's position within mass youth publications came in 1931, the year Tagawa's *Norakuro* began serialization. Helped by not a little bit of marketing, the runaway success of the manga and its merchandising quickly pushed Katō and Kōdansha to consider expanding its manga offerings within the coming year's features and giveaways.

FIGURE 4. *Great Manga Advancing Army*, insert premium for *Shōnen Club* (February 1931), cover.

The main result was *Happy Manga Library* (*Manga yukai bunko*), begun New Year's 1932.[17] Printed duotone in red and pink halftone over black line work, on heavier whiter paper stock, this handsome section stood out physically as well as visually from the rest of the magazine's pages. It included a new serial by Tagawa, this one about a hapless young samurai, as well as a number of short one- and two-page manga of the modernized "Punch" type described above. There were also a handful of games and trivia segments narrated through cartoony characters and speech balloons. Continuing through 1932 and into 1933 under the same name, in line with the times the section was subsequently retitled *Manga Train* (*Manga ressha*), then *Great Manga March* (*Manga daikōshin*) and *Great Manga Advancing Army* (*Manga daishingun*). There was increased military content, but by and large *Club*'s comics focused on

laughs at home and school. Character models, meanwhile, remained the domain of prose. There was a clear division in roles between media in *Club.* Nonetheless even Satō Kōroku, the doyen of character-building prose, thought manga had a purpose greater than amusement. He reportedly commended Katō on brightening the magazine by including high quality cartoons. It might even have been his suggestion to include more, so as to appeal to all members of the family, that lead to *Norakuro* and the *Happy Manga Library.*[18]

So when one of Katō Ken'ichi's sons, Katō Takeo, describes *Manga Shōnen,* on the occasion of a 2001 biography of his father, as "a revival of *Shonen Club,*" one should keep in mind *Club*'s diversity before racing for the stereotypes.[19] As I will explain below, to an extent *Manga Shōnen* did aim to rehabilitate post-Meiji *bildungsroman* and the ideal of *risshin shusse* boyhood within the postwar context. But just as much a reflection of the magazine's Kōdansha heritage was its investment in manga as a "brightening" supplement, as a medium that increased cheer as well as sales.

In January 1945, Katō was promoted to a senior managing position at Kōdansha. This is a position he would hold only until the end of the war. For in September of that year, the recently established Occupation government forced Kōdansha, judged one of the major engines of militarist ideology, to close its doors. Katō found work with a new publisher, Shōbunkan (later renamed Hōbunsha), where he edited *Baseball Shonen* (*Yakyū shōnen*), a boys' magazine dedicated to what was thought to be the most democratic and American of sports. While the magazine was extremely popular, Katō's tenure did not last long. In June 1947, the GHQ issued a list of "war collaborators" to be purged from public service or any position of public influence. On this list were the names of Kōdansha's elite, including that of Katō. The fifty-year-old editor of twenty-five years was thus deprived of his career and means to feed his wife and six children.

It was thus secretly that Katō established *Manga Shōnen* and its publishing house Gakudōsha, literally "The Schoolchild Company." Various measures were used to circumvent Occupation authorities. His wife Masa was listed as publisher and his eldest daughter Maruko as editor. A relative's address was given for the company office, though until 1950 the entire operation was run out of the Katō home in Hongō. To avoid postal censors, his children hand-delivered letters directly to artists and printers. When the American M.P.s came around to check on his activities, Katō would retreat to a back room, silently sweating out their departure.[20] Such dissimulation was no longer necessary after the purge was lifted at the end of 1950. But Katō took advantage of the freedom not to make Gakudōsha more his own but rather to rejoin Kōdansha, where

he remained in a senior capacity until his death in 1975. The reins of *Manga Shōnen* were handed over to his eldest son, Katō Hiroyasu.

Katō Ken'ichi initially conceived of Gakudōsha as much more than a publishing house. He described the original vision behind the company in *COM* in 1968 as follows:

FIGURE 5. *Manga Shōnen* (April 1949), cover by Saitō Ioe.

> Initially I had meant to call it The Schoolchild Assembly Hall [*Gakudō kaikan*]. This was a strange name for a company indeed. But there were certain ambitions and ideals behind this strangeness. This hall was not just for all of the students of Japan but was designed as a business to support everyone who had something to do with schoolchildren. Naturally it would publish magazines and books for schoolchildren, but also textbooks. Also reference books. It would sell teaching aids and materials for schools. It would also sell equipment for exercise and sports. Instruments and specimens for science class, all the school supplies a schoolchild would need would be supplied by the company after close inspection by our research wing. Someday, a robust Schoolchild Assembly Hall would be built to provide rooms for teachers on business trips from the countryside and school groups on field trips. There would be lectures and film screenings and theatrical performances for students in the lecture hall. In the large sports grounds adjacent, we would host national student competitions. It might seem like a dream, but for a recently reborn Japan, nothing was more important than a robust education for our children. The provision of books, supplies, and facilities that would aid that robustness should have taken priority over all other reconstruction efforts.[21]

What motivated such grand ambitions? Nineteen forty-seven was probably too early for anyone to forecast the size of the postwar baby boom and strike out in business to take advantage of the coming voracious demand for educational equipment and facilities. Instead, considering who Katō was, it is hard

not to hear in such dreams of a national education center just two years after the war, designed with a view to spiritual regeneration and hosting large-scale congregations of student bodies, the heart of a man who had been a major shaper of childhood during the age of the Japanese Empire.

Even in its earliest, most strongly Kōdansha-esque days, *Manga Shōnen* is clearly a product of the post-1945 era. Still, the shape and content of the early issues suggest that Katō did wish to put postwar regeneration on prewar footing. The most explicit expressions come out in editorial matter. A number of historians have commented on the fact that *Manga Shōnen* addressed its readers in the same language that *Club* had, particularly through the name "*shin'ai naru aidokusha shokun,*" which while translating uneventfully as "Dear Beloved Readers," is constructed in Japanese out of the vocabulary of filial piety and imperial subjectivity. The vocabulary of prewar ethics did not end there. "Children of Japan, it is because you are the treasures of the nation," explains the January 1949 issue, evoking an old Meiji period expression (*okuni no takara*) that also appears in Kōdansha publications of the 1930s, "that we send you this special jumbo issue, with the wish that you will be pure and proper and bright."[22] Elsewhere in the same issue:

> Dear Readers, let us face the New Year together with hope. Adults also have hope, but it does not shine as brightly as the hope that boys have. One might even say that Boys are Hope. Boys are a solid mass of hope [*kibō no katamari*]. They can become as great as they wish. They can become as upstanding as they wish. This is the blessing that the gods have imparted to boys [*kamisama no tamamono*]. Hope! Hope!

The notion that Japan's future rests on the dreams of its male children is not particularly surprising. Nor is the evocation of *risshin shusse* motifs of personal striving and boundless horizons. Postwar chauvinism and economic growth would have use for both ideas. But male youth as a solid unified body of hope? The hope nurtured by *Manga Shōnen* as a blessing from the Shintō *kami*? What a striking choice of language in 1949. The editorial continues:

> Readers, filled with hope, *Manga Shōnen* is your friend. Like you, it also holds big bright hopes. They say that Japanese boys and girls read *Manga Shōnen,* but only really some do. When will this great magazine be read by each and every boy and girl? When will each and every one of you become loving readers of *Manga Shōnen*? This is the great hope that *Manga Shōnen* holds.
>
> Beloved Readers Banzai! *Manga Shōnen* Banzai!"[23]

Sales volume is obviously in mind. But again, given who Katō was, there was probably more than market share and money behind the idea that a single magazine, a single educational and entertainment product, might bind the entire population of the nation's youth. When Japanese historians describe *Manga Shōnen* fondly as a "military training school" (*yobigun*) for manga authors, they are probably not aware that the very idea of a devoted reader community in *Manga Shōnen* was a reformulation of imperial-age youth mobilization. Curious that manga, the entertainment commodity, should replace the nation-state. How indicative of the changing priorities of a country shifting from militarism to consumerism.

If such were the editorials, how about the packaging and content? One might as well begin with the covers. Saitō Ioe was famous as one of the primary cover artists for *Club*, reportedly creating covers for 240 issues, including all but one between 1934 and 1937, and even its very first in 1914. He was also illustrator for a fair number of the magazine's stories. Satō Kōroku stipulated that his stories should be illustrated by Saitō alone.[24] Saitō also painted most of the covers for *Manga Shōnen* until 1950. They are rendered in the same soft, precious-childhood quality. The old military themes might be gone; nonetheless many of the covers are interchangeable, especially those with boys playing baseball or enjoying the outdoors. The old association of youth with cherry blossoms reappears. One from April 1949 showing a boy in school uniform holding a large Hinomaru flag, in honor of the new school year, would have been perfectly at home in the 1930s. Others, like the January 1949 and February 1950 issues in which a schoolboy is holding a kite, or the January 1950 issue in which a boy is riding a winged horse into the New Year, are direct reworkings of earlier *Club* covers.

FIGURE 6. *Manga Shōnen* (January 1950), cover by Saitō Ioe.

To some extent, the interior of early *Manga Shōnen* matched this familiar exterior face. Takabatake

Kachō and Yanagawa Sōichi were among the many prewar illustrators that did work for *Manga Shōnen*. The authors of the magazine's prose fiction were, in many instances, also the same. There was Yoshikawa Eiji, Kichijōji Hiroshi, and Ikeda Nobumasa, who published both under that name as well as that of Minami Yōichirō, author of best-selling hunting adventure stories in the 1920s and '30s. Doyen of prewar youth *bildungsroman* Satō Kōroku was also recruited. Katō clearly thought highly of his *Blossoms in the Chalice* and *A Direct Line* (*Itchokusen*), two of the author's most famous *Club* serials, for a chapter of the former was reprinted in the magazine in 1951 and the entirety of the latter beginning in 1949. A simplified juvenile edition of Shimomura Kojin's *The Story of Jirō* (*Jirō Monogatari*), a classic coming-of-age story in the Japanese countryside set in the early Shōwa period and that had originally begun publication in 1941, was serialized for two full years between 1951 and 1952. In its book edition, it became one of Gakudōsha's best sellers. This last was not originally a Kōdansha title, but otherwise—"a revival of *Shōnen Club*" indeed.

However, what really activated the "hot-blooded" tradition both in *Manga Shōnen*'s pages and for the postwar period in general was not prose but *emonogatari*, and specifically that of Yamakawa Sōji. He, too, had Kōdansha credentials, having first been invited to draw for *Club* in 1939. The work he did for the magazine consisted of the same kind of exotic jungle and savannah adventures he had been creating for the *kamishibai* market since the early 1930s, as well as straightforward lionizations of the Japanese soldier in Southeast Asia and the South Pacific. The Occupation might have softened the ideological tone of Yamakawa's work for a time, but come 1951 and the wildly popular *Shonen Kenya* (1951–55, *Shōnen keniya*), he was back narrating the story of a stupendously intelligent and athletic Japanese boy, separated in Africa from his father by war, raised by the Masai, and protecting the continent from white colonialists. It and other Yamakawa jungle adventures were an important influence on *Jungle Emperor*, and made Yamakawa not only the leading *emonogatari* artist of the early postwar period but, according to the Japanese tax bureau in 1953, also the top grossing "*gaka*" (painter/illustrator/cartoonist), nine notches above the tenth-place Tezuka.[25] Without the financial footing established by Yamakawa's work for *Manga Shōnen* between 1948 and 1951, the magazine would probably never have been able to embark on its subsequent amateur manga adventure.

Yamakawa's first serial for *Manga Shōnen* was *Silver Star* (1948–49, *Ginboshi*). It tells the story of Hurricane Tom Sullivan, a cowboy from Colorado so named for his fast gun and fast fists. A strong man, he is also a good man.

He has come to New Mexico to take part in the Santa Fe rodeo and horse race. But while there finds himself righting bad business. A majestic wild horse named Silver Star has been blamed for the disappearance of more than 250 horses from local corrals, and a price is put on his head. With the help of a local boy named Jim, Hurricane Tom pursues Silver Star, not for the reward but rather because just once in his life he wants to ride such a magnificent and powerful creature. His sterling conduct and values, a model for little Jim, are contrasted with those of a bad cowboy named Manuel, prone to lying, cheating, and greed. Eventually it is discovered that Silver Star was not responsible for the missing horses after all. A group has been stealing them with plans to take them across state lines and sell them. Tom busts the operation, punctuated with a punch to the ringleader's jaw. Young Jim meanwhile knocks out Manuel for his dishonest behavior. The old *Club* pair of the strong male role model and his stalwart shōnen apprentice are back, even if they are now wearing cowboy boots.

In the summer of 1949, Yamakawa began a new title, a boxing story titled *Knockout Q* (1949–51, *Nokkuauto Q*). Seminonfictional, it narrates the adolescent years of Yamakawa and his boyhood friend, the boxer Kimura Kyū. Its setting—*shitamachi* Tokyo just after the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923—is clearly meant to resonate with the straitened times of the early postwar, bombed-out city. Kyūgorō and the Yamakawa character Shōji become friends while living and working together as apprentices at a small printing plate workshop. Both are hard workers, conscientious of their responsibility to their parents and to the surrogate father figure for whom they work. Both also have a strong sense of decency, knowing right from wrong behavior, in contrast to the delinquents who think they own the neighborhood. Early on Kyūgorō becomes a model of courage and strength, and on more than one occasion protects Shōji and other children from ruffians. In street fights, he discovers his strength and inborn ability as a fighter. In the ring, his first opponent is a man a weight class above him, a decent boxer himself but marred by his lack of proper training and his tendency to smoke and drink. Kyūgorō, the superior moral character as well as the superior fighter, defeats him handily.

Throughout the story, Yamakawa draws parallels between sport and art. Via Shōji, his own growth as an artist is shown as having been directly inspired by his boxer friend's success and determination. Interestingly, this begins in earnest after Kyūgorō starts winning in the United States. Like the post-*shinsai* setting, this feature too is clearly designed to speak to Japanese fantasies after the war and under the Occupation. As his friend slugs against unlikely odds through the brawnier Americans, Shōji begins to expand his

FIGURE 7. Yamakawa Sōji, "Knockout Q," *Manga Shōnen* (June 1950), page 45, detail.

trade at the struggling printing plate shop, from simple etching to the more technical task of retouching. He also begins to submit "cheery and entertaining" cartoons to the city newspaper.[26] Finally, after repeated rejection, his work is published. He is invited to attend meetings of Tokyo's top adult cartooning club. Soon, however, he becomes disgusted with the scene's crassness:

> Right above Shōji's cartoon was one showing a strange-looking dancer with her leg up in the air! And to the side another vulgar cartoon! There was nothing to be done about it, but Shōji's mood soured and he turned bright red. He couldn't show *sensei*, and certainly not Ryōko [his female friend],

that his work had been accepted. The world's mores were running wild. People's hearts were warped. Morals were on the verge of being forgotten.

Shōji crumpled up the newspaper and threw it. Here I am trying to become an adult! Putting adult interests into cartoons is fun, but is this all that adult cartoons can be? That day, Ogawa told me to draw even greater pictures. What is greatness? If there is nowhere to submit cartoons but to this newspaper, then I have had it with cartoons![27]

FOR YAMAKAWA, IT SEEMS, THERE WAS NO MANGA BUT THE CRASS KIND, AS IF THE MEDIUM ITSELF IS DEGENERATE.

Shōji vows never to draw "manga" again:

> A manga athlete [*manga senshu*]? Gorō, I am done with manga! I have recently decided to become an illustrator [*sashie gaka*] instead. Illustration is more difficult, is it not? Nonetheless, I will become a famous illustrator athlete.[28]

This last he cries out to a fight poster showing the newly named "Knockout Q" facing off against the auratic American, sent to him by his friend from California.

The manga Yamakawa describes here as morally degenerate are specifically "*otona manga*," meaning adult newspaper and magazine cartoons. He is referring specifically to the early Shōwa era of "*ero-guro* nonsense," the diatribe against which would have been perfectly intelligible in the Occupation-period present thanks to the postwar *kasutori* boom. He does not mention children's *akahon*, but it is hard not think that while railing against "adult cartoons" Yamakawa was also voicing disdain for the rising popularity of manga in children's entertainment. For Yamakawa, it seems, there was no manga but the crass kind, as if the medium itself is degenerate. It is the artistic analogue to the drunk and smoking delinquents that Kyū first has to fight. It is adult society gone rotten. The professional ring for Yamakawa is illustration, and as the story concludes with Shōji being invited finally, after years of hard training, at the age of thirty-two by the editors of *Shōnen Club* to publish *emonogatari* in their magazine, it is clear what Yamakawa thought was the champion medium. Manga was the amateur circuit. It was not how boy artists became proper men.

This is a very different brand of artistic self-fashioning from that for which *Manga Shōnen* would become famous, namely the Tokiwasō paradigm of childhood fan obsession hatching into adult profession. But it would go

on to deeply influence Kajiwara Ikki, a childhood devotee of Satō Kōroku, turned writer for martial arts and wrestling *emonogatari* in the 1950s. In the late 1960s, Kajiwara would become a pop culture superstar as scriptwriter for so-called "sports guts" (*supokon*) manga for Kōdansha's *Shōnen Magazine*—another magazine that has been called a "revival of *Shonen Club*." The popularity of Kajiwara's work, highly influential among shōnen manga and young adult *gekiga*, saw to it that the *Club*-esque portions of *Manga Shōnen* sent prewar *bildungsroman* deep into postwar culture.

It is typical to view the prose and early covers of *Manga Shōnen* as belonging to the Kōdansha past, and the commitment to manga as fresh and forward-looking as the first major step toward a postwar manga future. The magazine certainly played an important role in nurturing a new, more intensified wave of manga production. But considering the promotion of comics in Kōdansha publications beginning fifteen-plus years early, one cannot so simply put manga on this side of 1945.

One of the reasons Tezuka's *Jungle Emperor* is important is that it demonstrated that manga could carry both, making children thrill and laugh while at the same time offering models of moral character. Previously, Katō seems to have aimed at striking a balance on more traditional Kōdansha editorial lines. There is one important difference, however. The figure of the *yūtōsei*, so important to pre-1945 Kōdansha and also central in Katō's original vision for the Schoolchild Assembly Hall, seems to have been in *Manga Shōnen* largely marginalized, appearing mainly in small articles and cover motifs, and implied through educational maps and charts.

Only a decade had passed, after all, since the 1930s and the original debates concerning the role and effect of manga in children's character formation and education. Harm, degeneration, profit over principle, junk over nutrition, derisive laughter over cheery humor, ugly art: the concerns about especially cheaper, more garish, and more freewheeling *akahon* expressed during the late 1930s reappeared with increased intensity after the war.[29] Deciding to begin a manga magazine in late 1947 and thus at the cusp of the *akahon* boom (which is said to have peaked in 1948 or 1949), Katō had to face this anticomics climate head on. As far as the mainstream was concerned, flesh-and-blood "*manga shōnen*" were the worst kind of children. So you have in editorial copy the repetitive use of "*akarui*" (cheer or brightness). Likewise, the reassuring line "an enjoyable and cheery magazine for the entire family" was used as a header through much of 1953.

FIGURE 8. *Manga Shōnen*, no. 1 (January 1948), cover by Sawai Ichisaburō.

The division implied in the inaugural manifesto is fairly easy to perceive. The early manga of *Manga Shōnen* have very little of the gravity of Satō Kōroku or Yamakawa Sōji's texts. This is partially by editorial design, no doubt, but also due to the fact that most of the magazine's initial contributors were carryovers from a past in which manga that served pedagogical functions did so mainly for small children, not boys on the verge of adolescence and manhood.

Old *Club* star Shimada Keizō's first serial for *Manga Shōnen*, *Atomic Genkichi* (1948, *Genshi no Genkichi*), begins with a boy receiving a pair of atomic-powered shoes from a "foreign country." He flies around on them, crashes into a bird, catches the tail of an airplane, before ending up in Shimada's traditional haunt, a land of coconut trees, elephants, and silly black-skinned savages. It is little more than slapstick. Longer-running was his *Dumpling Wizard* (1949–51, *Dango sennin*), about a bearded Daoist immortal who comes down from his mountain refuge to mix with the common people . . . a curious theme in the new age of the "human emperor." With his divine powers, boundless wisdom, and absolutely ordinary geriatric absentmindedness, Dumpling Wizard causes all sorts of trouble. A child swipes his staff, for example, and uses it as a baseball bat. The ball breaks through a tree, through a utility pole, through a policeman's handlebars, before striking Saigō Takamori's statue in Ueno Park and giving "the last samurai" a fat welt on his head. When similar shenanigans appear in the classic Kōdansha publications (though I have never seen icons like Saigō disrespected), they typically have a point, sweetening the pill of righteousness and good behavior that most *Club* and other Kōdansha manga slipped down the reader's throat. Laughter seems to have lost its *tame* and purpose. It is enough just to be *omoshiroi, yukai,* and fun.

Haga Masao had been the prime author of "animal comics" in the pre-1945 period, writing mainly for Kōdansha's young kid publications. He also drew

a number of different titles for *Manga Shōnen,* spanning the magazine's first year to its last. Best-known is *Blackie* (1948–50, 1955, *Kuro*). Blackie is a black mutt, first a stray helping puppy orphans find a home, who gets into trouble looking for food and so forth. These are presumably references to the many homeless adults and children in Japanese cities at the time. By making them into adorable animals, an artist could transform the homeless into likable characters without dealing with the stigma of human vagrancy. Appropriately, when revived in the mid-'50s, Blackie had himself gained an owner. Still he likes to break leash now and then, and run off with the pack. As an index of the holding power of the Kōdansha legacy in *Manga Shōnen,* for a few months following the end of the original run of *Blackie,* Haga revived *Little Bear Korosuke* (1950–51, *Koguma no Korosuke*), the title he had inherited from Yoshimoto Sanpei in 1940, the lead manga in Kōdansha's kid monthly *Yōnen Club.*

Most famous of the early *Manga Shōnen* comics was Inoue Kazuo's *Bat kid* (1948–49, *Batto kun*), often regarded as Japan's first baseball comic. Ostensibly the most American of sports, baseball had also served since at least the late 1920s and Satō Kōroku's *Blossoms in the Chalice* as a vehicle for more traditional values. But unlike in the prewar "hot-blooded novel" or its *emonogatari* offshoots like *Knockout Q,* in Inoue's *Bat Kid* sport itself does not serve primarily as a forum for the protagonist's physical or moral growth. The little hero does learn humility and the value of hard work on the diamond. Baseball itself, however, is not a metaphor for anything. It is not the meeting of different classes as it is in Satō Kōroku's novel, not cutthroat society in miniature as it would be later in Kajiwara Ikki's work. Inoue's character is instead the paradigmatic "*yakyū shōnen,*" the fanatic "baseball boy" who spends his days dreaming of becoming a baseball star and surrounded by the paraphernalia of the sport. The life lessons he learns are incidental to this core fantasy. Thrift and saving are important, for example, because otherwise he would not be able to buy a bat. Diligence and patience are necessary, likewise, because otherwise he will never get on the team. And so forth.

Just seven years earlier, Inoue had finished a serial for *Shonen Club* titled *The Happy Kid* (1938–41, *Yukai kozō*). About a *yūtōsei* from the countryside who makes his first step toward manhood by becoming an apprentice for a greengrocer in the city, the early chapters of the manga are structured such that each provides a specific moral lesson. The protagonist even keeps a chart recording his good deeds and bad. With *Bat Kid,* on the other hand, there is only a shadow of pedagogical intent. Still the book edition published by Gakudōsha not a year into serialization was voted number one in the "Most Excellent Picture Book and Manga Exhibition" (*Yūryō ehon manga ten*) at

the Mitsukoshi Department Store in 1948, a golden seal of approval from a staunchly middle-class venue that this was the paradigm of "good child" manga. It is not hard to imagine that the war had created distaste for didacticism. Neither is it hard to imagine how "enjoying life" might have taken precedence amid the hardships of the early Occupation period, so soon after the conscriptions and the firebombs. A whole segment of one chapter of *Bat Kid* depicts his parents specially making eggs for him: a rare fortifying treat for game day. The joy that manga can provide apparently no longer needs moral education to be justified. It was work enough to be happy and healthy in the immediate post-1945 period, and so likewise it seems that laughter had become an adequate end in itself, as long as it was "refined."

FIGURE 9. Inoue Kazuo, *Bat Kid* (June 1948), cover (1981 facsimile edition).

If there was one artist's work that expressed the end of an era, it was certainly that of Tagawa Suihō. It would be a few more years before Norakuro's civilian chronicles in the magazine *Maru*, but Tagawa's many short comics for *Manga Shōnen* indicate that the artist had already decided to age his former stars rather than trying to create new ones. Even the titles seem to be getting on in years: *Uncle Manga* (1951, *Manga ojisan*), for example, and *Manga Village* (1951–52, *Manga mura*). Norakuro was still active elsewhere, but the rest of Tagawa's Kōdansha crew has settled down in the bucolic outskirts of Tokyo. They while away their days cooking, chatting, and immersed in hobbies. Old people are like children, they say, and indeed that is the case here. They make model airplanes and have spats over nothing in particular.

When assessing children's culture, there is always the over-the-shoulder factor to consider, the adult parent who the editors know will also be taking a gander. Is that who Tagawa was drawing for? If so, it is designed to gain their approval in a clever way, by saying that this is a magazine that you can trust because you know the people behind it. It might not be the exact manga you

grew up with in the 1930s, but it is populated with characters you know, your trustworthy childhood friends. How smart to make the characters older than they should have been considering the mere passage of not quite twenty years. Who could be more harmless than the elderly? It is as if one generation further above had aged, not Norakuro's but Tagawa's, in other words the postwar parent's parents, their teachers, their Kōdansha.

If *Manga Shōnen* was going to go forward, clearly something new was needed. But for now, at the threshold of the 1950s, this was where the magazine was, its manga a mix of playground where kids could just be kids and limbo for the old Kōdansha spirit.

Notes

1. Tatsumi Yoshihiro, "*Manga Shōnen* wo aisu" (I miss *Manga Shōnen),* in *"Manga shōnen" shi* (The history of *Manga Shōnen*), ed. Terada Hiroo (Tokyo: Shōnan Shuppansha, 1981), 135. Though not cited directly, general reference has also been made to the following two books: Shimizu Isao, *"Manga shōnen" to akahon manga: sengo manga no tanjō* (*Manga Shōnen* and *akahon*: The birth of postwar manga) (Tokyo: Zōonsha, 1989); and *Jitsuroku!, "Manga shōnen" shi: Shōwa no meihenshūsha Katō Ken'ichi den* (The history of *Manga Shōnen*: Famous editor Katō Ken'ichi) (Tokyo: Bunkyō furusato rekishikan, 2009).

2. On this period of Tatsumi and Sakurai's careers, see Tatsumi, *Gekiga hyōryū,* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Seirin Kōgeisha, 2008), 17–74; trans. as *A Drifting Life* (Montreal: Drawn & Quarterly, 2009), 23–80; *Gekiga kurashi* (*Gekiga* living) (Tokyo: Hon no Zasshisha, 2010), 18–38; and Sakurai Shōichi, *Boku wa gekiga no shikakejin datta* (I was a *gekiga* trickster) (Tokyo: Eipuriru Shuppan, 1978), 41–50.

3. Sakurai Shōichi, "*Manga shōnen* to manga" (*Manga Shōnen* and manga), in *"Manga shōnen" shi*, 135.

4. Ishinomori Shōtarō, "Posuto no aka" (The red postbox), in *"Manga shōnen" shi,* 124.

5. Tōge Akane, "Manga Shōnen no subete, no. 1," *COM* (November 1968), 78–79.

6. Shimotsuki Takanaka, *Komikku maaketto sōseiki* (The genesis of Comiket) (Tokyo: Asahi shinbun shuppan, 2008).

7. *Manga Shōnen* (January 1948), 1, facsimile reprint available in *Manga Shōnen fukkokuban* (*Manga Shōnen* reprinted), ed. Terada Hiroo (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1983).

8. Unless otherwise noted, biographical information on Katō Ken'ichi comes from his *Shōnen Kurabu jidai: Henshūchō no kaisō* (The era of *Shonen Club*: Reminiscences of the editor-in-chief) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1968).

9. Satō Tadao, "Shōnen no risōshugi" (Boys' idealism), *Shisō no kagaku* (March 1959), n.p.

10. Katō Ken'ichi, *Shōnen Kurabu jidai,* 116.

11. Cited in Katō Ken'ichi, *Shōnen Kurabu jidai,* 16.

12. Ibid., 17.

13. On these concepts in relationship to early twentieth-century children's culture

and pedagogy in general, see Mark Jones, *Children as Treasures: Childhood and the Middle Class in Early Twentieth Century Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010).

14. Katō Ken'ichi, *Shōnen kurabu jidai,* 117.

15. On "Funny Talk," see Sugiyama Akira, ed., *"Shōnen Club" no warai banashi* (*Shonen Club*'s "funny talk") (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2004).

16. For a general sense, see Ryan Holmberg, "Sugiura Shigeru's Sense of Humor," *The Comics Journal* online (July 2012), reprinted in *Sankakuboshi* (Summer 2012).

17. On the background of this project, and more generally on the relationship between *Club* and manga, see "Zadankai: *Shōnen kurabu* no omoide" (Round-table discussion: Memories of *Shonen Club*) in Ozaki Hotsuki, *Omoide no Shōnen kurabu jidai: Natsukashi no meisaku hakurankai* (Memories of the *Shonen Club* era: An exhibition of nostalgic masterpieces) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1997), 321–32.

18. As related by former *Club* editor Matsushita Yoshiyuki, in "Zadankai: *Shōnen kurabu no omoide,"* 323; Katō Takeo, *"Manga Shōnen" monogatari: Henshūsha Katō Ken'ichi den* (The story of *Manga Shonen*: Editor Katō Ken'ichi) (Tokyo: Toshi shuppan, 2002), 124.

19. Katō Takeo, *"Manga Shōnen" monogatari,* 18.

20. Ibid., 25–33. To give a sense of Katō Ken'ichi the person, Katō Takeo relates the following anecdote about his father. Eldest daughter Maruko, fronting as Gakudōsha's head, once disparaged General Nogi as a "worthless leader who marched his soldiers needlessly to death." Her father exploded in anger, yelling and smashing his tea bowl (92–94). However one judges his postwar work, it seems that Katō, the person, maintained the loyalties of his youth to the very end.

21. Katō Ken'ichi, "Ano toki no koto . . . Manga Shōnen jidai" (That time . . . the age of *Shonen Club*), *COM* (December 1968): 91.

22. *Manga shōnen* (January 1949): 1.

23. Ibid., 86–87.

24. Katō, *Shōnen kurabu jidai,* 172–74.

25. Fujiko Fujio, *Futari de shōnen manga bakari egaitekita* (All the two of us did was draw shōnen manga) (1977; Tokyo: Nihon tosho sentaa, 2010), 88–90.

26. Yamakawa Sōji, "Nokkuauto Q," rpt. in *Ginsei Nokkuauto Q* (Silver Knockout Q) (Tokyo: Tōgensha, 1975), 223.

27. Ibid., 226.

28. Ibid., 227.

29. For an overview of the postwar antimanga campaign, see Takeuchi Osamu, *Sengo manga 50-nen shi* (Fifty years of postwar manga history) (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1995).

FUJIKI HIDEAKI

Implicating Readers: Tezuka's Early Seinen Manga

Tezuka's manga developed and transformed in conjunction with the growth of manga magazines targeted to distinct demographics or age groups in postwar Japan. When Tezuka published his first manga in the late 1940s, they appeared in book form for the rental market. In the 1950s he began to serialize manga in magazines targeted at *kodomo* (or kids), that is, elementary school students. Kids' magazines such as *Shōnen, Shōnen Club,* and *Shōjo Club* included manga among a variety of formats and genres. In 1959, two weekly shōnen (or boys) magazines dedicated to manga began publication, *Shūkan Shōnen Magazine* and *Shūkan Shōnen Sunday,* and Tezuka began to contribute to them. These weekly manga magazines addressed not only elementary school pupils but also junior high school students. Nineteen sixty-eight saw the emergence of seinen (or youth) manga magazines such as *Big Comic* and *Play Comic.* Even as Tezuka became a major contributor to seinen magazines, he was also contributing to *otona* (or adults) manga magazines such as the monthly *Manga Dokuhon* (which ran 1955–70). In addition, in 1968 and 1969, with *Shōnen Champion* and *Shōnen Magazine,* a new type of shōnen magazine appeared, whose range of address extended to senior high school students and even people older.[1] In sum, Tezuka published manga series in venues

addressing distinct age groups or generational demographics—children, boys, youth or adolescents, and adults.

This historical trajectory makes visible three aspects of the emerging manga industry. First, by the late 1960s, manga had become accepted not only by children but also by youth. Both demographics had sufficiently developed to constitute an industry. Needless to say, this industry also developed through the diffusion of manga in the animated form and a larger transmedia network, including television, cinema, and merchandising.[2] Second, the publishers inaugurated manga magazines targeting a somewhat older demographic due to the aging of the so-called *dankai* (the clump) generation or baby boomers, who were born in the late 1940s and reached the age of twenty in the late 1960s. In other words, the emergence of new magazines paralleled the aging of baby boomers. Lastly, manga published in such magazines tended to address the readers formally targeted by the specific magazine. As such, the mode of address of most manga is framed by its magazine. Manga are in this sense not an autonomous art, and the creativity of mangaka (manga artists) cannot be considered apart from such restrictions. Tezuka was no exception to this rule.

How, then, did Tezuka address readers organized by demographic? Did his manga change in stylistic and narrative terms in accordance with different magazines? I propose here to discuss how the visual and narrative characteristics of Tezuka's seinen manga specifically address baby boomers growing up in postwar Japan. Usually, his seinen manga are deemed to be more realistic and erotic than his other manga, especially his *shōnen* manga.[3] Yet his shōnen manga, notably *Yaketpachi's Maria* (1970) and *Apollo's Song* (1970, *Apollo no uta*), also contain sexually explicit materials. Moreover, Tezuka's seinen manga are frequently unrealistic, as with *Swallowing the Earth* (1968–69, *Chikyū o nomu*) and *I.L.* (1969–70). The distinctions between shōnen, seinen, and otona are not essential divisions. The mode of address does not necessarily conform to the mode of reception. A mode of address does not prescribe a readership. It constructs an implied readership. A boy may read seinen manga rather than shōnen manga.[4] Modes of address are more fluid than categories, demographically and historically.

Indeed, the boundaries of shōnen, seinen, and otona have transformed over time. What is now called "adolescence"—and is usually translated as seinen in Japanese—emerged with the formation of industrial society in which schooling became a requisite for getting a job.[5] Baby boomers in Japan reached "adolescence" in the early 1960s, as the high economic growth began in earnest. Prosperity allowed many of them to extend their schooling and

thus to enjoy a longer period of education before entering the workplace. Japanese universities were thus able to shift from elite education to mass education by 1970.[6] In 1969, *Waseda University Newspaper* describes the students as having "a journal in one hand and a magazine in the other." In 1970, *Shōnen Magazine* ranked second among the weekly publications most read by students at the University of Tokyo, second only to the weekly general magazine *Asahi Journal*.[7] At the same time, new discourses appeared, based on the academic and popular receptions of the American psychologist Erik H. Erikson and the American sociologist Kenneth Keniston, as well as the government's surveys on and descriptions of *sei-shōnen* (a term combining seinen and shōnen, often translated as "juvenile").[8] Such discourses contributed to defining and redefining age categories. Youth or seinen were increasingly recognized as a unique age group, differentiated both from *kodomo* (kids or children) and otona (adults). Manga magazines can be read alongside such discourses insofar as they construct an implied readership based on age, most obviously expressed in the magazine's title and its advertising.[9]

WHAT IS NOW CALLED "ADOLESCENCE"—AND IS USUALLY TRANSLATED AS SEINEN IN JAPANESE—EMERGED WITH THE FORMATION OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY IN WHICH SCHOOLING BECAME A REQUISITE FOR GETTING A JOB.

Here I will explore transformations of visual styles and narrative motifs in Tezuka's manga in relation to the implied readership of their venue of publication. I will center my analysis on Tezuka's works in magazines addressing boys, youth, and men—which does not mean their actual readers were exclusively male. Nonetheless, the focus will be less on gender than on age or generation. Needless to say, my analysis is limited to a selection from his more than seven hundred titles.[10] While delineating my analysis in this way, I hope to explore some of the historical connections between manga, implied readership, and readership.

ESTABLISHING NEW READERSHIPS

From the early 1950s to the early 1970s, manga publishers continued to segment the market and to target readers on the basis of their age, in an attempt to profit from the growing *dankai* or baby-boomer generation. There are two important turning points. The first occurred in 1959, which saw the publication of the first weekly shōnen manga magazines, *Shūkan Shōnen Magazine* and *Shūkan Shōnen Sunday*. Baby boomers, whose core group was born in 1947,

had turned twelve, entering their last year of elementary school. Previously, according to Nakano Haruyuki, manga, especially so-called story-centered manga, had predominantly addressed children under twelve.[11]

Between 1946 and 1950, books called *akahon* (red books), published by small publishers in Osaka, became the dominant format for manga. Tezuka, born and raised near Osaka (in Takarazuka), published a number of manga in this format, including those of his science fiction trilogy, *Lost World* (1948), *Metropolis* (1949), and *Nextworld* (1951, *Kitarubeki sekai*). At the same time, publishers in Tokyo were publishing monthly magazines whose titles indicated an address to boys, such as *Shōnen Kurabu, Shōnen, Manga Shōnen.*[12] These magazines did not specialize in manga but comprised a variety of formats including illustrated tales and entertaining information for children. Although some magazines such as *Manga Shōnen* and *Manga to Yomimono* addressed both boys and girls as readers, the bulk addressed boys.

Tezuka's serialization of *Jungle Emperor Leo* (1950–54, *Jungle taitei*) in *Manga Shōnen* marked the moment when Osaka-based *akahon* manga authors began to enter the world of Tokyo-based shōnen monthly magazines. Tezuka serialized a number of popular works in these magazines, among them *Captain Atom* (1951–52, *Atom taishi*) for *Shōnen, Strange Travel of Dr. Tiger* (1950, *Taigā hakase no chinryokō*) for *Manga to Yomimono, Saboten-ku* (1951–54) for *Shōnen Gahō, Astro Boy* (1951–68, *Tetsuwan Atomu*) for *Shōnen,* and *The Adventure of Rock* (1952–54, *Rock bōkenki*) for *Shōnen Kurabu.* These magazines all addressed children under twelve.

The success of manga in the monthly variety magazines encouraged the major publishers based in Tokyo to launch weekly manga magazines, *Shūkan Shōnen Magazine* (Kōdansha) and *Shūkan Shōnen Sunday* (Shōgakukan). What is more, in 1959, twelve-year-old baby boomers were about to graduate from elementary school and consequently from manga. As Nakano aptly notes, this demographic shift motivated publishers to inaugurate a new type of shōnen magazine, in an attempt to hold these lucrative consumers. The new weekly shōnen manga magazines not only accelerated the cycle of manga publication (following the boom in weekly magazines initiated by *Shūkan Shinchō* in 1956)[13] but also restructured the implied readership for manga. Their sales steadily increased, and *Shūkan Shōnen Magazine* sold more than one million copies in 1967. Around the same time, Kōdansha inaugurated a quarterly manga magazine entitled *Bessatsu Shōnen Magazine* in 1964 (literally, an extra issue of *Shōnen Magazine*). In 1969, the publishers transformed it into *Gekkan Bessatsu Shōnen Magazine* (Monthly extra issue of *Shōnen Magazine*). Tezuka provided numerous works for these new weekly or monthly shōnen manga

magazines: *Dr. Thrill* (1959, *Suriru hakase*), *Zero Man* (1959–60), *Captain Ken* (1960–61), and *Vampire* (1966–67) for *Shūkan Shōnen Sunday*; *Okesa no hyōroku* (1974) and *Three-eyed One Comes Here* (1968–69, *Mitsume ga tōru*) for *Shūkan Shōnen Magazine*; and *The Runaway Tanker* (1969, *Daibōsō*), *Bomba* (1970), *The End of Atom* (1970, *Atomu no saigo*) for *Bessatsu Shōnen Magazine* (1970).

The second turning point occurred between 1966 and 1968, when new periodicals called seinen manga magazines appeared: *Comic Magazine* was published by Hōbunsha in 1966, *Shūkan Manga Action* by Futabasha in 1967, *Young Comic* by Shōnen gashōsha in 1967, *Big Comic* by Shōgakukan in 1968, *Color Comics* by Kawade shōbō shinsha in 1968, *Manga Comic* by Hōbunsha in 1968, and *Play Comic* by Akita shoten in 1968. The emergence of these magazines also presented a response to the shifting age of baby boomers whose core group turned twenty-one in 1968. Publishers and mangaka felt that there would be a demand for more mature manga, since high school graduates would not remain satisfied with the existing shōnen manga.[14] Tezuka also published a series of seinen manga, such as *Execution Ends at 3 O'clock* (1968, *Shokei wa sanji ni owatta*), *Swallowing the Earth*, *I.L.*, *Ode to Kirihito* (1970–71, *Kirihito sanka*) and *Ayako* (1972–73) for *Big Comic*; and *Seijo kainin* (1970) and *Human Metamorphosis* (1970–71, *Ningen konchūki*) for *Play Comic*.

Significantly, this transformation in manga publishing paralleled dramatic changes in the education and social position of youth, which began to attract new attention in the 1960s. The percentage of students enrolling in universities rose sharply from 12.1 percent in 1963 to 23.6 percent in 1970.[15] As such, the age for entering the workforce also increased, which implied an extension of the "leisure time" or "moratorium time" of youth. These shifts also allowed youth to engage in political activities and to reconsider the existing society and its expectations for them. Youth emerged as new consumers whose unique position both in society and in life cycle defined new interests and lifestyles. The youth culture of the baby boomers arose at the intersection of economic growth, rising consumerism, and increasing political consciousness.[16]

Not surprisingly, the two new shōnen magazines—*Shōnen Jump* published by Shūeisha and *Shōnen Champion* by Akita shoten, inaugurated in 1968 and 1969 respectively—tended to blur the boundary between shōnen and seinen. What is more, the already existing *Shōnen Magazine* attempted to renew itself by taking the attributes of seinen manga.[17] Such magazines carried more explicitly sexual materials, as with Nagai Go's *Shameless School* (1968–72, *Harenchi gakuen*) in *Shōnen Jump*, and Tezuka's *Yaketpachi's Maria* (1970) in *Shōnen Champion*. Whether their intentions were orientated toward

profit, education, or art, publishers and mangaka considered *shōnen* as mature enough to read erotic or sexual materials.[18] Responses to these changes varied: while newspapers and general weekly magazines carried rather sensational reporting about this new type of shōnen magazine, parents and teachers complained about the sexual materials, which led to some local governments designating such manga as "harmful literature" for children.[19] Such developments serve as a reminder that the boundary between shōnen and seinen was not fixed but continually negotiated.

Another strand of manga publication also bears consideration: otona or adult manga. Some twelve years before the emergence of seinen manga, otona manga magazines—such as *Manga Dokuhon* (1954–70) published by *Bungei shunjūsha, Shūkan Manga Times* (1956–) by Hōbunsha, and *Manga Sunday* (1959–) by Jitsugyō no nihonsha—featured satiric and erotic drawings as well as nude gravures and a variety of articles, especially in their early issues. Mangaka such as Yokoyama Ryūichi, Sugiura Sachio, and Kondō Hidezō founded Manga shūdan in 1932, and Katō Yoshirō, Kojima Isao, and Suzuki Yoshiji joined the group soon after World War II. Manga shūdan (Manga Group) played a central role as editors and contributors to *Manga Dokuhon* and to early issues of *Manga Sunday.* Tezuka contributed two works to *Manga Dokuhon* in 1955: *The Fall of the Third Reich* (*Dai san teikoku no hōkai*) and *The Travels of an Insect Girl* (*Konchu shōjo no horoki*). Closer to picture stories than manga, these works do not use frames or speech balloons but tell a story through a series of juxtaposed pictures and texts. Tezuka also provided manga-style works for nonmanga magazines, such as *The Rag and Jewel* (*Zōkin to hōseki*) for *Shōsetsu Salon* (a novel magazine) in 1957, and *Hyōtan Komako* for *Heibon* (a monthly general magazine) in 1957–58. In 1964, he joined Manga shūdan and began more actively to produce works for otona manga magazines and other types of adult magazine, for instance *Rally Up, Mankind!* (1967–68, *Ningen domo atsumare!*), and *Gilleta* (1968–69, *Ue o shita eno jiretta*) for *Manga Sunday,* and *Nude Men's Archipelago* (1968, *Nudian rettō*) for *Gendai.*

Although seinen manga and otona manga have much in common (notably, sexually explicit materials), their styles and narrative patterns differ greatly. In particular, otona manga uses decidedly thinner and simpler lines than seinen manga does. What is more, their publication histories are very different: while the growth of seinen manga magazines paralleled that of baby boomers, otona manga magazines had begun before war.

In sum, as baby boomers grew up, manga publication expanded and diversified, developing new markets and addressing new readerships in accordance with shifts in demographics. Tezuka published in all of these new

publications, ostensibly addressing all of these new readerships. But how do these different venues of publications address readers? Are there transformations in style or narrative?

ADDRESSING THE SEINEN WORLD

Although shōnen manga, seinen manga, and otona manga are not rigid categories, they imply different modes of address with some degree of visual style and narrative differentiation. Here I will propose a closer look at character style or character design, followed by an analysis of the relation between character and narrative, which leads to considerations of general plot devices.

Characters appearing in Tezuka's works from shōnen manga magazines before the mid-1960s all appear to be under twelve, for instance, Ken'ichi, Rock, Atom, and Rickie. We can gauge their age from their relationships with parents or adults such as uncles, teachers, and doctors in each narrative, as well as their clothes and their social environments (typically, school and home). In addition, their head is proportionally large, and their contours are rounded, which suggests childhood. Characters in later shōnen manga, such as Toppei and Rock in *Vampire,* Tetsuo in *Grand Dolls,* Yahachi in *Yaketpachi's Maria,* and Otoya in *Bomba,* can be considered teenagers: not only do the works commonly depict them as junior or senior high school students (rather than elementary school pupils), but also their head is relatively small in proportion to their body, while they are shorter than the surrounding adults and their facial contours are somewhat rounded. Although Shōgo in *Apollo's Song,* first published in the 1970 issues of *Shōnen King,* may appear akin to main characters in Tezuka's seinen manga due to his explicit sexuality and ambiguous age, his relatively rounded facial contours as well as his slight height distinguish him from fully adult characters that we see in seinen manga.

For instance, Daigo in *Swallowing the Earth,* Kirihito in *Ode to Kirihito,* and Jirō in *Ayako* are signaled as seinen not only by their narrative settings but also by their physical proportions: smaller face, less rounded facial contours, often with longer sideburns or stubble. Young women are depicted with voluptuous proportions and often in a sexually explicit fashion, as in *Swallowing the Earth* and *Human Metamorphosis.* In addition, Tezuka's seinen characters and later shōnen characters are rendered with greater detail, hence their reception as more realistic. Manga historians and critics have noted the influence of the *gekiga*-style, initiated by the two manga groups, Gekiga kōbō (1957–58) and Gekiga shūdan (1962–?).

These groups explored new styles to differentiate their manga from the received styles, emphasizing the dramatic qualities of presentation, moody settings drawn with heavy shading and detail, and characters who rarely smiled.[20] Such features became known as *gekiga* or "dramatic pictorial style." Gekiga kōbō explicitly tried appeal to readers on the boundary between shōnen and seinen in terms of age.[21] Tezuka adopted aspects of this style in his manga for later shōnen manga magazines and seinen manga magazines, which aimed to attract readers in that demographic. This style clearly marks off Tezuka's seinen manga not only from his early shōnen manga, but also from otona manga.[22]

Tezuka's otona manga, like those of other mangaka, are drawn with thinner and more simplified outlines. Head, torso, arms, and legs, are simplified or exaggerated both in form and in their relative bodily proportions, as are eyes, nose, and mouth within a face. Taihei, the adult protagonist of Tezuka's *Rally Up, Mankind!,* for instance, recalls the shōnen character Rickie in *Zero Man* in that both characters have disproportionately large heads. Yet, in contrast with Rickie's rounded face, Taihei's face is an inverted triangle. In addition, Taihei's eyes and pupils are proportionally smaller than Rickie's. Such characters differ greatly from those in Tezuka's seinen manga. The voluptuous women are largely the same in his seinen manga and otona manga, with voluptuous proportions, long eyelashes, and big black eyes. As a comparison of *Apollo's Song* with *Gilleta* shows, however, the seinen beauty eyes are more complex in the arrangement of their white pupils.

Evidently, Tezuka changed his presentation of characters in accordance with the implied readership of different manga magazines. The covers of such manga magazines also reinforced this sense of figures differentiated by age. Early shōnen magazines typically feature a photo or illustration of an apparent boy under twelve on their cover. The new shōnen magazines that started in 1969, *Shōnen Jump* and *Shōnen Champion,* often featured boys wearing a school uniform, implying they are teenagers. Covers for seinen manga and otona manga rarely featured children or teenagers. Rather, they used illustrations of popular celebrities—mangaka, actors, writers, and politicians, and sometimes, adult manga characters.

Tezuka's negotiation of the implied mode of address was not limited to character style or design but extended to the narrative world of action. I will focus on three aspects: the relation of humans to nonhuman, supernatural, or abnormal phenomena; the maturation or self-realization of characters; and evil. I will ultimately argue that shōnen manga tend to put greater emphasis on a moral dichotomy between good and evil, while seinen manga and otona manga tend to question social relations and social norms.

Human characters frequently confront nonhuman characters in Tezuka's manga. Nonhuman characters run the gamut from clearly mechanical creatures such as humanoids—androids, gynoids, and robots—to bionoids, that is, humanoid animals and plants and animaloid humans. Such characters and their worlds are modeled on certain types of human beings and societies in history. As such, they tend to function allegorically, thus addressing what can be called the politics of discrimination and the politics of domination.

In Tezuka's shōnen manga, nonhuman characters share the same social norms and logic with human characters, which enables allegorical reading. Nonhuman characters may initially be introduced as marvelous or anomalous, but their existence is given a natural, that is, scientific explanation. For example, in *The Mysterious Underground Man,* the scientist reveals his plan to humanize the rabbit, and we see the laboratory where the rabbit is undergoing surgery. The scientist announces, "Thank you, folks. The experiment has succeeded. The rabbit has become all the same as human beings."[23] In *Nextworld,* although the scientist does not conduct experiments, he discovers an unfamiliar form of life, explaining it in terms of the effects of radioactivity from atomic bombs upon life forms.[24] *Zero Man* also provides a scientific account for the ecology of the zero men.[25] Although these nonhuman beings still would seem to be unrealistic in reference to the readers' world, the (quasi-)scientific account would effectively lead the readers to accept the diegetic world as the one that operates on its own norms and logic. In this sense, Tezuka's shōnen manga do not conform to what Tzvetan Todorov calls "the fantastic." They do not suspend disbelief about what is real or unreal.[26] They tend to supply a scientific explanation, naturalizing their world and allowing nonhuman creatures to appear not anomalous by the end of the story.

Thus, the plot does not stage a confrontation between human and nonhuman characters. It stages a moral dichotomy, in which the distinction between good and evil does not conform to the division between different species. In Tezuka's shōnen manga, good is generally a matter of democratic friendship beyond any difference, while evil adheres to the politics based on difference and domination. In *The Mysterious Underground Man,* the rabbit, initially subject to discrimination, is finally accorded a status that is the same or "greater than human beings."[27] In contrast, the princess of the subterranean state takes revenge on humans, and some human characters conspire with her for profit.[28] In sum, good versus evil is the operative distinction, not human versus nonhuman.

Zero Man presents a similar pattern in which the distinction between humans and nonhumans is not the operative moral distinction. The human

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parents who adopt a zero-man baby (Rickie) support him even when they are tortured by other humans, and Rickie remains faithful to them. The zero-man authorities propose to invade human society, emphasizing the difference between "us" and "them." Yet their society is not nonhuman. Its evil is a reflection of a human monarchal state.[29] As such, some of those nonhumans can side with good.

Tezuka's shōnen manga rarely show a child character growing up, mentally or physically. Ken'ichi, Rock, Rickie, and even Atom show little mental and physical development throughout their stories. Ōtsuka Eiji describes Atom as destined not to mature even though he possesses a soul like humans.[30] But I would argue that this is true of many child characters in Tezuka's shōnen manga. Indeed, the child's physical and mental development is less important than moral confrontation in Tezuka's shōnen manga.

Although this scenario holds true for Tezuka's seinen manga, the articulation of the human changes considerably. Where the shōnen manga deploy nonhuman figures such as robots, bionoids, and extraterrestrials, the seinen manga hinge on paranormal or abnormal phenomena arising within human beings, such as the artificial skins in *Swallowing the Earth,* the femme fatale–like behaviors both in *Swallowing the Earth* and *Human Metamorphosis,* the free metamorphosis of the female protagonist in *I.L.,* the animalizing disease in *Ode to Kirihito,* and the more-than-twenty-year confinement of the female protagonist in *Ayako.* Such phenomena are presented as attributes, extensions, or consequences of the human, however bizarre their manifestations. Such phenomena are scientifically justified in the seinen manga as well. For instance, the skins (Delmoid Z) in *Swallowing the Earth* allow for a transformation of human appearance, and yet disguising oneself with Delmoid Z is presented not as nonhuman transmogrification but as human fetishistic practice.

Tezuka's seinen manga also differ from his shōnen manga in that their protagonists strive to fulfill their own desire in human societies rather than defending the moral order from evil, that is, from discrimination and domination. His seinen manga ground morality in the realization of desires or ambitions. Evil characters typically disguise themselves, enter into conspiracies and other schemes, employing violence and even committing murder to achieve their goals. They frequently victimize law-abiding characters. Such scenarios function to question existing social relations, such as racial discrimination, family relations, romance and marriage, and fairness. An excellent example is Delmoid Z in *Swallowing the Earth,* with which Zefirus aims to

create social confusion. It also allows for satire of racial discrimination and family relations. The first episode deals with African Americans who wish to disguise themselves as white with Delmoid Z. The result is a blurring of received distinctions, and in the ensuing confusion, racist groups assault some "real" white people whom they suspect to be disguised.[31] In addition, a group of unrelated people disguise themselves as members of a family, and although they hadn't originally known each other at all, they nevertheless get on well with each other. Indeed they appear happier than the "real" family.[32] Such examples encourage readers to consider the impact of physical appearance in constructing human relationships.

Similarly, deceit and disguise, as well as conspiracy and violence, allow readers to reflect on romance and fairness. *Swallowing the Earth* again provides some fine examples. There is, for instance, the fraudulent relationship between Zefirus and her husband: we learn in flashbacks that he married her for profit, that he secretly sold her elderly father's scientific breakthrough to the Nazis.[33] There is also the relationship between Milda, one of the Zefirus daughters, and Gohonmatsu, a happy-go-lucky booze-swilling man. Milda's sisters kill him in order to take her back from him. The ensuing dialogue then casts doubt on the relationship itself: when Milda asks them why they killed him and deprived her of everything, one sister replies, "Deprive? He was the one who deprived us of you."[34]

Human Metamorphosis likewise forces us to reflect on romance, raising questions about the fairness of the behavior of the female protagonist Toeko, who fulfills her desire for fame and revenge through her relationships with men. While she is falling love with a boyfriend (or pretending to), for instance, she secretly copies his work and wins a prize for it.[35] Rather than a simple example of bad behavior, this incident poses a series of questions. Is genuine romance thoroughly disinterested? Is it wrong to see romance as a means to an end? How do we draw the line? Do we draw the line in our daily lives? Is our success in anything actually due to our virtue alone?

In sum, where Tezuka's shōnen manga tend to present evil in terms of allegories of social discrimination and domination, his seinen manga present evil in terms of the process through which evil characters achieve their desires or ambitions. Such a presentation tends to make good and evil appear relative to the social situations, and in turn the values attached to social relations appear contingent. It is the contingency of social value in particular that distinguishes Tezuka's seinen manga from his shōnen manga.

In this respect, Tezuka's seinen manga bear comparison to his otona manga, which also tend to avoid recourse to moral dichotomies and instead

question social relations and norms. His otona manga tend to use broad satire or caricature, however. In Tezuka's first otona manga, *The Fall of the Third Reich,* which might be better characterized as a picture story for adult readers, a young couple (Mary and Jack) figures among the human laborers managed by robots within a state governed by the dictator Benito Hitler. When the robots remove Mary from the workforce due to her diminished efficiency, Jack protests and resists, but his efforts are in vain. The manga reads as a satire of dictatorship and extreme forms of social rationalization, figured in the control of humans by robots. Another otona manga, *Nude Men's Archipelago,* explores the implications of an ordinance inverting received conventions: public nudity is the rule of the land. Yet another, *Gilleta,* explores a paranormal couple: an uncomely young woman Chie turns into a beauty when hungry (Tezuka's earlier otona manga *The Rag and Jewel* uses an analogous motif), and her boyfriend Otohiko has the ability to share his reveries with the use of a special device. The story centers on the economic exploitation of Chie and Otohiko. The manga thus satirizes the insatiability of human desire. In sum, such otona manga invite us to question existing social relations and norms, in a manner that recalls his seinen manga.

Tezuka's seinen manga, however, tend to deal on confrontations between law-abiding (usually young) protagonists and evil characters. In *Swallowing the Earth,* while Gohonmatsu only finds fulfillment in alcohol and feels no desire for money or women,[36] he plays a key role in thwarting Zefirus's evil scheme. *Human Metamorphosis* explores the motivations of a series of men who pursue Toeko, either to woo her or to reveal her truth. In contrast, rather than emphasize confrontation and conflict, Tezuka's otona manga stress the absurdity of social phenomena, for instance, the absurdity of greed in *Gilleta,* of rationalized state management in *The Fall of the Third Reich,* and of erotic obsession in *Nude Men's Archipelago.* Tezuka's otona manga thus encourage readers to reflect on social relations and norms.

In sum, Tezuka's seinen manga present characteristics that distinguish them from his shōnen manga and otona manga. In particular, his seinen manga dwell on how law-abiding characters confront paranormal or abnormal phenomena in order to question existing social relations and norms. His seinen manga thus stand in contrast to his shōnen manga, which tend to foreground a moral dichotomy between social equality (nonhierarchized relations or democratic relations) and social inequality (discrimination and domination). They also stand in contrast to his otona manga, which employ satire and caricature to expose the absurdity of efforts to exploit paranormal phenomena.

SHŌNEN, SEINEN AND OTONA ARE NOT RIGID CATEGORIES. THEY ARE MODES THAT EMERGED CONTINGENTLY TO ADDRESS HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN READERS.

Tezuka's later shōnen manga, that is, his shōnen manga of the late 1960s such as *Vampire, Grand Doll, Yaketpachi's Maria, Apollo's Song,* and *Bomba,* tend to fall between shōnen and seinen as I have heuristically defined them here. On the one hand, their narrative worlds are like those of his shōnen manga in that they tend to focus on the relationship between human and nonhuman characters, for instance, vampires in *Vampire,* dolls in *Grand Doll,* an ethereal spirit in *Yaketpachi's Maria,* or the crones in *Apollo's Song.* On the other hand, while some of these shōnen manga, such as *Vampire* and *Grand Doll,* evoke a moral dichotomy between social equality and social inequality, other shōnen manga, such as *Yaketpachi's Maria* and *Apollo's Song* tend to avoid moral dichotomy in favor of using nonhuman characters to encourage reflection on human nature. Indeed, because the "ethereal entity" that possesses the love doll and the crones has no physiology as such and thus no genitalia, it invites us to reconsider the relation between the human body and sexuality, highlighting the social dimension of sexuality. In this respect, Tezuka's later shōnen manga resemble his seinen manga. In other words, shōnen, seinen, and otona are not rigid categories. They are modes that emerged contingently to address historical transformations in readers, which transformations were being seized or captured in discursive, demographic, and institutional ways at the same time. In this respect, I would like to point out that, although my historical presentation of these generational designations might seem to imply a linear historical progression based on demographic transformation (that is, the maturation of the *dankai* generation), shōnen, seinen, otona, and even children's (kodomo) manga were being published simultaneously by the late 1960s. While it is beyond the scope of this essay, a fuller analysis of three Tezuka manga from the late 1960s—his early seinen manga *Ode to Kirihito,* the shōnen manga *Vampire,* and the otona manga *Rally Up, Mankind!*—would be one way to consider this industrial and formal spatialization that takes the form of generational modes of address.

CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion, I would like briefly to consider the historical context for Tezuka's seinen manga. Seinen manga emerged in response to the maturation of the baby boomers, born in the late 1940s and entering their twenties in the

late 1960s. This generation grew up in an era of complex transformations—including what is commonly referred to as Japan's economic miracle, that is, recovery from wartime devastation through economic development, which was also characterized by transformations in higher education with a general tendency toward mass education. By 1970, while baby boomers reaped the rewards of economic growth, they also faced new sociopolitical problems: the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty, the cooperation of the Japanese government and corporations with the United States during the Korean War and the Vietnam War, environmental pollution, and increasingly fierce competition for entry to university. Arguably, two factors specific to this generation allowed it to enjoy consuming *petit*-luxury items like manga while questioning governmental policy, economic development, and myths of happiness and prosperity: (1) the new prominence of adolescence (its social construction and extension) provided new latitude for "teenage instability," and (2) the increased delay in joining the workforce. Seinen manga magazines tried to address such a generation, and its address may be considered as part of the construction of this generation.

HIS SEINEN MANGA STAGED SOMETHING OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL COMPLEXITY OF BABY BOOMERS, THEIR COMBINATION OF INSTABILITY, HASSLE-FREE LEISURE, AND POLITICAL DOUBT AND CONTESTATION.

How did Tezuka's manga address this readership? In keeping with the general trends, his seinen manga are more sexually explicit than his shōnen manga. In addition, Tezuka's seinen manga frequently refer to historical events occurring in the wake of World War II: for instance, American racism and the family disintegration in *Swallowing the Earth*; the Vietnam War and the involvement of female students in the students' uprising at the University of Tokyo in *I.L.*; Korean responses to the history of Japanese colonialism in *Human Metamorphosis*; the corruption in medial schools in *Ode to Kirihito*; and controversial and unresolved historical incidents like the Shimokawa and the Matsukawa incidents in *Ayako*. Naturally, historical references, media controversies, and the use of sexually explicit material are not unique to Tezuka or to seinen manga.

What is distinctive about his seinen manga in terms of their mode of address is their visual and narrative exploration of youth or a seinen protagonist who confronts (or causes) social problems in a manner that invites readers to question existing social relations and norms. The key to Tezuka's seinen manga is not a simple identification of baby boomers with the protagonist. Rather, his seinen manga staged something of the psychological complexity

of baby boomers, their combination of instability, hassle-free leisure, and political doubt and contestation. His seinen-centered, visual narrative world of manga provided a perspective for them to negotiate social realities. His seinen manga dovetailed with the historical situation in which economic growth allowed a new generation that reached adulthood under conditions that inadvertently provided space and time for personal and political reflection on the social realities set in place in the wake of wartime destruction and postwar reconstruction. Such were the contingencies conditioning the mode that Tezuka's early seinen manga used to address young readers in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Notes

1. See Yonezawa Yoshihiro, ed., *Shōnen manga no sekai I: Kodomo no Shōwashi, Shōwa 20 nen–35 nen* (The world of shōnen manga 1: Shōwa children's history 1945–1960) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1996); Yonezawa Yoshihiro, ed., *Shōnen manga no sekai* II: *Kodomo no shōwashi, Shōwa 35 nen–64 nen* (The world of shōnen manga 2:, Shōwa children's history 1960–1989) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1996); Nakano Haruyuki, *Manga sangyōron* (On the manga industry) (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 2004).

2. See Nakano, *Manga sangyōron*, 2–8, 64–83; Marc Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix: Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

3. See, for instance, Ishiko Jun, "*Tezuka Osamu no shigoto: Seinen manga ni nani o kaketa ka*" (The works of Tezuka Osamu: What was at stake for him in seinen manga), in *Bunka hyōron,* no. 339 (May 1989): 186. Another conventional view is that his seinen manga are more complex or advanced in constructing a narrative than shōnen manga. I agree with this view to some extent, as I will discuss, but the critics have hardly shown how they are more complex. See, for instance, Nakano Haruyuki, *Sōdattanoka Tezuka Osamu: Tensai ga minuiteita nihonjin no honshitsu (*Tezuka Osamu, that's how it was: The true character of the Japanese discerned by genius) (Tokyo: Shōdensha, 2005), 152–65; Yonezawa Yoshihiro, *Tezuka Osamu manga ron* (Tezuka Osamu manga theory) (Tokyo: Kawade shobōshinsha, 2007), 56; Natsu Onoda Power, *God of Comics: Osamu Tezuka and the Creation of Post–World War II Manga* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2009), 140–51.

4. Scholars in film studies have discussed this issue. For discussions related to my argument among them, see Judith Mayne, *Cinema and Spectatorship* (London: Routledge, 1993), 83–86; Janet Staiger, *Perverse Spectators: The Practice of Film Reception* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 11–27.

5. Philip Aries, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Book, 1962), is the seminal work. Also see John R. Gilis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770–Present* (New York: Academic Press, 1981); Kotani Satoshi, "*Shakaigakuteki seinenron no shikaku: 1970 nendai zenhanki ni okeru seinenron no shatei*" (The scope of sociological discourses on youth: Parameters of discourses on youth in the early 1970s), in *Wakamonoron o yomu* (Reading discourses on youth), ed. Kotani Satoshi, 6–8 (Kyoto: Sekai shisōsha, 1993).

6. Takeuchi Yō, *Kyōyōshugi no botsuraku: Kawariyuku erīto gakusei bunka* (The collapse of cultural literacy: the changing culture of elite students) (Tokyo: Chūō kōron shinsha, 2003), 206; Nanba Kōji, *Zoku no keifugaku: yūsu sabukaruchāzu no sengoshi* (Genealogy of tribes: Postwar history of youth subcultures) (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2007), 155.

7. See Nakano, *Manga sangyōron,* 103; Takeuchi, *Kyōyōshugi no botsuraku,* 225. In the citation, "journal" refers to weekly general magazines and "magazine" means manga magazines.

8. They were frequently referred to in academic discourses, and translations were published in the 1970s. Erik H. Erikson's *Identity and the Life Cycle* (New York: International Universities Press, 1959) and his *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: Norton, 1969) were both translated in 1973. Kenneth Keniston's *Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968) was translated in 1973 and *Youth and Dissent: The Rise of a New Opposition* (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1971) in 1977. The sociologist Nanba Kōji argues that whereas *wakamono* or the youth was the vernacular term, *sei-shōnen* or "adolescent" has been mostly used from the standpoint of enlightenment and edification. I agree with his view particularly because bureaucrats of Japanese government have predominantly used the term *sei-shōnen* to designate children and young people for their research and guidance. See Nanba, *Zoku no keifugaku,* 30–38.

9. This may be seen as the relationship between the paratext and the text. For this issue, see Jonathan Gray, *Show Sold Separately: Promos, Spoilers, and Other Media Paratexts* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), Introduction and chapter 1.

10. Tezuka changed contents and forms in his manga, depending on different versions of the same titles from distinct media, say book and magazine platforms. In particular, it is important to note that when his work was serialized in a magazine, he didn't necessarily tell the story as he had initially planned; rather, he often changed it in the course of serialization. In this essay, however, my analysis is based on the versions published in *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū* due to their availability. The issue of different versions requires future archival research. There are quite a few works that provide an overview on his entire work, but the following four deserve special note: Tezuka Puroduction, ed., *Tezuka Osamu zenshi: Sono sugao to gyōseki* (A complete history of Tezuka Osamu: His true nature and his achievements) (Tokyo: Akita shoten, 1999); and *Tezuka Osamu Official,* http://tezukaosamu.net/; Yonezawa, *Tezuka Osamu manga ron*; Power, *God of Comics.*

11. Nakano, *Manga sangyōron,* 25.

12. Some begin prior to World War II, and others in the immediate postwar. See Yonezawa, ed., *Shōnen manga no sekai I.*

13. For the beginning of weekly magazines, see Takahashi Gorō, *Shūkanshi fūunroku* (The climate of weekly magazines) (Tokyo: Bungei shunjūsha, 2006).

14. Takita Seiichirō, *Biggu komikku sōkan monogatari: Namazu no iji* (The story of the inaugural edition of Big Comic: The will to break new ground) (Tokyo: Presidentsha, 2008), 20–21.

15. Takeuchi, *Kyōyōshugi no botsuraku,* 206.

16. Iwama Natsuki, *Sengo wakamono bunka no kōbō: Dankai, shinjinrui, dankai junior no kiseki* (The light-beams of postwar youth culture: Traces of the dankai, shinjinrui, and dankai junior generations) (Tokyo: Nihon keizai shinbunsha, 1995), 46–65; Oguma Eiji, *1968,* 2 vols. (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 2009). See, too, Sakata Minoru, *Youth culture shi* (Tokyo:

Keisō shobō, 1979), 272, which provides a statistical comparison of 1955 and 1965 showing a dramatic socioeconomic change.

17. Takita, *Big Comic sōkan monogatari,* 212–14.

18. Tezuka himself noted that "children" were already accustomed to such sexual content from the time of Nagai Go's *Harenchi gakuen* (1968–72), and senior high school students and college students were still reading shōnen magazines due to their interests in such materials. Tezuka Osamu's postscript in his *Apollo no uta,* vol. 3, *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū (Complete works of Tezuka Osamu),* vol. 37 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977). Hereafter, I will indicate this collection with the abbreviation, *TOMZ.*

19. See Takeuchi Osamu, "Manga no sabetsu, hakkin, kisei no 'jikenshi'" (A history of "events" of discrimination, prohibition, and regulation vis-à-vis manga), *Shigaisen* (The war from without), ed. *Comic hyōgen no jiyū o mamorukai* (Tokyo: Tsukuru shuppansha, 1993), 222; Yonezawa Yoshihiro, *Sengo eromanga shi* (History of postwar ero-manga) (Tokyo: Seirin kōgeisha, 2010), 109; Nagaoka Yoshiyuki, *Manga wa naze kisei sarerunoka: 'Yūgai' o meguru hanseiki no kobo* (Why is manga regulated? A half-century of struggle over "harmful materials") (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2010), 137–39. Also see Nakano, *Manga sangyōron,* 105. Nakano points to the disparity between the previously dominant recognition of "manga exclusively for children" and the expansion of manga readership to high school and college students.

20. For the *gekiga*-style, see Yonezawa Yoshihiro, "Movement toshite no 'gekiga'" (Gekiga as a movement), in *Shonen manga no sekai II,* 50–51.

21. Ibid., 163. Tezuka also signals these circumstances, citing the manifesto of *Gekiga kobo.* See Tezuka Osamu, *Boku wa mangaka (I am a mangaka)* Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 2000), 209–11. This book was originally published in 1979.

22. Indeed, Tezuka wrote the first issue of *Big Comic*: "With what touch should we depict the seinen manga that *Big Comic* will explore? This must neither be the same as *kodomo* (kids) manga nor as nonsense manga. This was my first task." See Takita, *Big Comic sōkan monogatari,* 99. For the publisher's strategy to differentiate their seinen manga magazines both from shōnen manga and from otona manga, see ibid., 179–82.

23. *Chiteikoku no kaijin, TOMZ,* vol. 253, 20–25, quote from 25.

24. *Kitarubeki sekai,* vol. 1, *TOMZ,* vol. 45, 18–19.

25. *Zero man,* vol. 1, *TOMZ,* vol. 21, 67–69.

26. Tzventan Todorov, *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre,* trans. Richard Howard (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975).

27. *Chiteikoku no kaijin,* 154.

28. Ibid., 86–91.

29. Note that sociologists such as Miyadai Shinji, Ishihara Hideki, and Ōtsuka Akiko argue that Tezuka's early manga, especially *Lost World, Metropolis, The Adventure of Rock,* and *Jungle Emperor Leo,* are pioneering works insofar as they undermined the narrative of a return of the order associated with the Great Japanese Empire, which narrative had been dominant in manga up to that time. My argument about moral dichotomy here is not about the recovery of such an order. See their *Sabukaruchā shinwa kaitai: Shōjo, ongaku, manga, sei no 30 nen to komyunikēshon no genzai* (Deconstructing the myths of subculture: Thirty years of girls, music, manga, sex, and the present state of communication) Tokyo: Parco shuppan, 1993), 146.

30. Ōtsuka Eiji, *Atom no meidai* (Astro Boy theses) (Tokyo: Tokuma shoten, 2003), 257. He contrasts Atom with Leo in *Jungle Emperor Leo,* Michie in *Metropolis,* and the rabbit in *Lost World,* all of which, he notes, are endowed with a physique (rather than inorganic matter like Atom) that serves as a "sign" that they are doomed to die after growing up. The critic Itō Gō takes up the issue of the nonhuman figure's death, arguing that its death allowed the figure to become something like a "kyarakutā" or a humanized character rather than just a "kyara" or a sign specific to manga. My concern here, however, is not with whether a nonhuman figure is depicted as a humanized character or is just a sign but with whether it grows up over the course of the plot in relation to the moral set forth in the narrative. See Itō Gō, *Tezuka izu deddo: Hirakareta manga hyōgenron e* (Tezuka is dead: Toward an open-ended theory of manga expression) (Tokyo: NTT shuppan, 2005), 140–41.

31. *Chikyū o nomu,* vol. 2, *TOMZ,* vol. 260, 6–9.

32. Ibid., 13–35.

33. *Chikyū o nomu,* vol. 1, 102–25.

34. *Chikyū o nomu,* vol. 2, 237.

35. *Ningen konchūki,* vol. 1, *TOMZ,* vol. 271, 59–70

36. *Chikyū o nomu,* vol. 1, 157.

JONATHAN CLEMENTS

Tezuka's Anime Revolution in Context

The broadcast of *Astro Boy* (*Tetsuwan Atomu*) on New Year's Day 1963 is generally taken to mark the beginning of a new age in Japanese animation.[1] There are, however, some dissenters who argue that Tezuka could never have created his animation company Mushi Production (Mushi Pro) so swiftly were it not for the Tōei studio labor pool available to poach from,[2] or even that the anime industry required no "Great Man" to transform itself, and that had Tezuka not made *Astro Boy,* someone else would have surely produced something similar by the mid-1960s.[3]

The Tōei studio certainly provided an inspiration and an impetus for Tezuka, as it was there in the 1950s that the subject of *Astro Boy* on television was first discussed, during Tezuka's time at Tōei storyboarding the cartoon *Saiyūki* (1960, released in the United States as *Alakazam the Great*). During a post-Sputnik fad for futurism,[4] animators mooted the possibility of a short theatrical *Astro Boy* film, or perhaps a TV series, but any discussion of television soon favored a look inspired by *kamishibai*—in other words, a story read out over still images with minimal zooms and pans. The director Shirakawa Daisaku recalled a discussion about the possibility of a truly *animated* series, ridiculed by the veteran animator Yamamoto Sanae as an absurd idea,

impossible even with the manpower of the entire animation industry.[5] The idea of animation was dropped, and *Astro Boy* appeared on TV instead as a live-action series running for sixty-five episodes from March 1959 to May 1960.[6] Notably, however, the "live-action" series featured an *animated* credit sequence, clearly prefiguring the look of the later anime. The production company Matsuzaki Films subcontracted the animation work to the Murata Eiga Seisakusho, a film company established by Murata Yasuji after the collapse of the Nihon Manga Eigasha in the 1940s.[7]

TEZUKA WAS UNABLE TO RESIST THE TEMPTATION TO BECOME A TV ANIMATION PRODUCER IN HIS OWN RIGHT.

Tezuka was unable to resist the temptation to become a TV animation producer in his own right—an ambition to which he had often alluded.[8] However, the production issues seemed insurmountable.

A LIMITED ANIMATION REVOLUTION?

Assuming a weekly output of "thirty minutes" of Tōei-quality animation, Tezuka's assistant Yamamoto Eiichi calculated an improbably huge staff requirement of three thousand employees and a budget of between 60 and 70 million yen. The entire population of animators then working in Japan would only account for 20 percent of the necessary labor force, and it would be too expensive for any television channel to afford. Even with standard deductions to make space for ads, sponsorship announcements, and recyclable credits dragging the actual new weekly animation to a more manageable 25 minutes, "limited" animation was the only option, although the general sense among Japanese animators in 1962 was that Hanna-Barbera and UPA's limited animation from the United States was of poor quality, and had been poorly received.[9]

Tezuka slashed costs to a mere 2.5 million yen per episode through a number of drastic measures, telling his staff that this amounted not to "full" animation but "limited" *anime*. Such is the commonly held chronology, although we need only look at Mushi Pro's previous *Tales of the Street Corner* (1962, *Aru machikado no monogatari*) to see that Tezuka was already working with clearly "limited" animation more than a year before he was supposedly compelled to do so by the strictures of the *Astro Boy* production.[10]

At no point, however, did Tezuka define what this notional "anime" actually was. His staff came to regard it as a style, perceived as opposite to what was regarded as the "realistic" animation style of the Tōei studio. Posterity has recorded a series of elements, much cited among anime scholars, and first

found in the semifictionalized autobiography of one of Mushi Pro's founding staff, Yamamoto Eiichi.[11] These include shooting "on threes" (only using eight frames of the available 24 per second); using single still frames for prolonged periods; pulling one cel behind another to imply movement; using loops of animation and recycled cels; sectioning an image so that only pieces of it moved (e.g., eye blinks or mouth flaps); using short shots on still images that cut away before the eye really registered they were not moving; and maintaining a bank of images from previous episodes that could be reused.[12]

The tricks were developed by staffers such as Sugii Gisaburō, who had initially complained that what they were doing barely warranted the term "animation" at all.[13] But none of the corner-cutting measures can reasonably be said to have been *invented* by Tezuka or Mushi Pro, and many had been features of animation since its earliest days.[14] Nor was this fact generally unknown: in June 1963, an article in the *Asahi shinbun* newspaper by Tada Michitarō noted the existence of not only the prewar precedents for still images in supposed animation but also the stylistic similarities to *kamishibai*.[15] Tezuka himself would push for a slightly different interpretation, arguing that his inspiration had more to do with his childhood memories of the similar effect produced by the jerky and inconsistent speed of *Felix the Cat*, as viewed on his father's malfunctioning home movie projector.[16]

A STYLISTIC REVOLUTION?

Another of the Mushi Pro staff, Takahashi Ryōsuke, defines Tezuka's decisions in different terms.[17] He recognizes the role of the "bank system" in recycling images from earlier shows but focuses less on technicalities of animation than on stylistics and issues in the production pipeline.

Takahashi suggests, for example, that Tezuka's revolution asserted the primacy of storyboards, more useful than a script in unifying the disparate parts of a production, as they allow better communication with work groups absent from the main studio, in scattered subcontracting ateliers and foreign studios. However, this, too, was not unique to Tezuka. In fact, the Tōei studio had made the deliberate decision to storyboard *Saiyūki* before the script was written. There is no way Tezuka, who worked on the production himself, could not have known this, or indeed that the storyboard-first style of production was referred to by the Tōei staff as the "Disney Method"—the biggest clue of all that it could not possibly have been Tezuka's idea.[18]

Takahashi also points to the emphasis on moments of still poses,

embraced by animators as a necessary evil and turned into a stylistic device. He also suggests that limited animation swiftly developed a series of visual cues and tropes, transcending the work of a single creator, genre, or story, but that the sheer volume of output in the early days of television ensured that Tezuka's particular style overwhelmed that of many of his competitors, establishing consensual norms that have endured ever since, encoded in the very nature of Japanese animation. In other words, Takahashi suggests that whatever visual or textual elements we might isolate as anime tropes, such memes have replicated in part because they were an aid to highly compressed storytelling using severely limited animation. Or to distill his argument even further—*modern anime looks the way it does because of Tezuka.*

Other claims by Takahashi include "distinct sound production," as confirmed by Sugii Gisaburō, who was forced to admit that while it pained him to see a single frame stretched across three whole seconds, the apparent cheapness was often reduced once sound was added.[19] Notably, however, when *Astro Boy* was exported, sound production was one of the points that the American localizers sought to improve. Fred Ladd found the soundscape on *Astro Boy* to be uninspiring enough to warrant radical interference in the English-language dub, which he deliberately spiced up with foley and clamorous crowd noises.[20]

However, whereas Yamamoto's points are empirically testable, and indeed *have* been tested, by researchers counting the pull-cels, stills, and recycled frames in an episode of *Astro Boy,*[21] Takahashi's claims are far more impressionistic and unsupported, except in the sense that they have been reached by working backward from *what anime has become* in the decades since *Astro Boy.*

A REVOLUTION IN LABOR AND FINANCE?

Tezuka solved some of his labor issues by outsourcing work to other studios. This did not so much remove the problem as turn it into someone else's, as smaller start-ups such as P Pro and Ōnishi Pro took on piecework in layouts, inbetweening, or backgrounds. These studios in turn often overestimated their abilities and found themselves shunting work onto third or fourth parties.

Nor did the outsourcing solve the central issue of the paucity of available animators. Instead, the "outsourcing" often involved overtime by staff members who were already working at day jobs in the industry. Many would return to their apartments each evening, only to continue working as freelancers on storyboards, key art, or layouts for other companies—Ishiguro Noboru

claimed to have spent the latter half of the 1960s living the life of such an "*animator part-timer,*" and that it not only gave the misleading impression that the anime business was coping with the workload but also pressured some animators into cutting corners on their day jobs in order to cope with their moonlighting.[22]

In a calculated move designed to elbow out rivals, Tezuka then *undervalued* the finished product, offering *Astro Boy* to Fuji TV for a fraction of its value.[23]

> It will probably incur a loss. But if it does, that's fine. If it's not enough, I will waive my origination fee. If we can do it under those conditions, other production companies won't do it for such an idiotic production fee, and they will stay away.[24]

It was an astonishingly bold move, but one that entirely failed to stifle competitors; instead, it dragged all other TV animators into Tezuka's production paradigms. The television anime business hence began largely as it would continue ever after, with the basic cost of production unlikely to be met by first-run broadcast sales.[25]

Crucially for Tezuka, he received the foreign investment for which he had been hoping, with a commitment from the United States for fifty-two episodes of *Astro Boy* at $10,000 per episode.[26] Many of Mushi's staff believed that Tezuka had sold *Astro Boy* to NBC, one of the three major American television networks at the time.[27] However, *Astro Boy* was never sold to the NBC network. It was sold to NBC Enterprises, a sister company that traded lesser imports to smaller, local markets in syndication.[28] The incorrect assertion, that *Astro Boy* was broadcast all over America on the NBC *network,* is common to Japanese accounts[29] and is even repeated in the history of anime produced by the Association of Japanese Animations.[30]

The deal created a vital financial cushion for the production process; at the time of the broadcast of the inaugural episode, Mushi Pro only had four other episodes of *Astro Boy* banked. However, the involvement of NBC Enterprises also diluted Tezuka's original vision,[31] with the U.S. Standards and Practices scrutineers rejecting six of the first twelve episodes. Although Fred Ladd, the American localizer, salvaged three of the shows with judicious editing, three were impossible to broadcast—one on account of scenes of animal vivisection, one for backgrounds containing nude images of women, and one for a plot device that turned on the use of a message scratched into the eyeball of a statue of Christ.[32]

RATINGS AND REVENUE

In Japan, the first episode of *Astro Boy* was regarded as a success, with a rating of 27.4 percent.[33] However, nobody in Tezuka's circle seems to have understood what this actually meant, and definitions of "success" in the 1960s fluctuated between ratings as high as 40 percent and as low as 15 percent, depending on how one was counting—compare this to modern ratings for *Naruto* or *Bleach,* which hover around the 4 percent mark.[34] Success and, indeed, failure were often in the eye of the beholder, as demonstrated by Yamamoto Eiichi, who diligently supplies figures in his memoirs but then misinterprets his own evidence in order to substantiate a consensual pessimism among the Mushi Pro staff. By mid-1966, Yamamoto claims, "the popularity of *Astro Boy* had begun to decline after three and a half years; where once its ratings had peaked at more than 40 percent, they had now fallen to 27 percent."[35] Yamamoto neglects to qualify his figures, and, like many authorities, conveniently forgets that *Astro Boy*'s remarkable peak rating of 40.3 percent was generated by a one-off color test broadcast (see below).[36] In fact, using Yamamoto's own statistics, we can see that the supposed "decline" in *Astro Boy*'s popularity was a deeply subjective assessment. *Astro Boy* remained essentially as popular *with viewers* in 1966 as it had been in 1963 and was merely declining in the affections of its *makers,* since it was still being produced in the increasingly outdated monochrome format. Tezuka admitted as much in early 1965, when he subcontracted *Astro Boy* production out to another studio in order to allow him to concentrate more fully on color work.[37]

HIS RELIANCE ON THE LIKELY INCOME FROM MERCHANDISING WAS ITSELF REVOLUTIONARY AND IS REGARDED BY SOME AS ONE OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE MODERN ANIME BUSINESS.

Tezuka also faced disappointing results for advertising revenue. He began broadcasting at the pinnacle of postwar growth in Japanese advertising revenues, a point after which the likely income from commercials largely flattened or declined. Because of the proliferation of new channels and the swift rise in TV ownership, advertising turnover had quadrupled between the years 1958 and 1963. Between 1963 and 1965, however, the previously stellar growth stagnated. Within six months of the broadcast of *Astro Boy*'s first episode, only pharmaceuticals and food continued to generate increasing revenues, and even then only at a vastly reduced rate compared to the previous rise. Anime benefited in the short term from its association with candy and confectionery goods, which remained one of the sturdiest areas in advertising revenue.

However, we cannot ignore the implications of the slump: that Tezuka had bet on a continued bubble market, only to discover that he was stuck with what he already had.[38] Nevertheless, his reliance on the likely income from merchandising was itself revolutionary and is regarded by some as one of the foundations of the modern anime business.[39]

RIVALRY AND REACTION

Other companies were soon scrambling to imitate Tezuka's achievement. By September 1963, Fuji TV had broadened its animation remit with a late-night "adult" show *Sennin buraku* (Hermit village).[40] Both it and *Tetsujin 28* (*Tetsujin 28-gō*), also broadcast on Fuji TV, were made by TCJ, a company with a previous output in commercials. At Tōei, half a dozen animators were seconded from the feature film production of *Gulliver's Travels beyond the Moon* (1965, *Garibaa no uchū ryokō*) and put to work on a TV animation project of their own, *Wolf Boy Ken* (*Ōkami shōnen Ken*). They were placed under the command of Tsukioka Sadao, a twenty-four-year-old animator who ironically appeared to get the job because he *lacked* the experience of working with Tōei's usual production methods. Several older animators were offered the job first but had claimed it was impossible.[41]

Astro Boy's reign was challenged in the autumn 1963 TV season, with *Tetsujin 28* (Fuji TV) commencing broadcast on October 20, *Wolf Boy Ken* from November 5 (NET/Asahi), and *Tobor the Eighth Man* (*Eetoman*) from November 7 (TBS). Moreover, the rival shows swiftly seized a new market in cinemas in the following spring, when selected episodes were shown on a single bill under the umbrella title of the *Ōkami shōnen Ken manga daikōshin* (1964, Wolf boy Ken great manga parade). Meanwhile, since *Wolf Boy Ken* was made by Tōei Dōga, it made its way into cinemas in December 1963, when an episode played on the same bill as Tōei's new animated feature, *Doggie March* (*Wanwan chūshingura*).

Tezuka instructed his animators that episode 56 of *Astro Boy* would be a backdoor experimental pilot, made in color. He was nudged in this direction by both his American and Japanese clients, who had made it plain that they would not be seeking any more monochrome cartoons and would require color products in the future.[42]

The episode featured Astro Boy travelling to the Moon and helping a squad of Earth Defenders protect the solar system from aliens. The supporting cast were all characters from another Tezuka story, *Number 7* (1961–63,

Nanbaa 7), which was one of the likely candidates for a full-length color series. The episode was broadcast on 25 January 1964, gaining a 40.3 percent rating, the highest rating for any episode of *Astro Boy* to that point . The color episode served another purpose in the summer, when it was edited together with the monochrome episodes 46 and 71 to form the first *Astro Boy* "feature film," *Astro Boy: Hero of Space* (1964, *Tetsuwan Atomu: Uchū no yūsha*). This not only beat the opposition by being a true feature-length film but in being partly made in color, it reestablished Tezuka as the innovator in the market.[43]

However, some exhibitors were reluctant to push *Hero of Space* as a "real" animated feature, noting that although it was partly in color, it was still little more than three TV episodes cut together. *Hero of Space* was carried in the Nikkatsu cinema chain in the summer, discreetly out of competition with Tōei's *Gulliver's Travels beyond the Moon* in the spring, and instead running against a more properly matched opponent, the second *Ōkami shōnen Ken manga daikōshin* compilation program.[44]

The color experiment was successful. In 1964, Tezuka revealed to his staff that he had secured a commitment from NBC Enterprises to invest in a full-color animation series, based on his manga *Jungle Emperor* (1950–54, *Janguru taitei*). Hence, all other color TV anime pilots were suspended, and even *Astro Boy* would be wound down to meet this foreign deal. The story had all the quest narrative, pathos, and adventure that Tezuka thought necessary for an ongoing success, coupled with an exotic African setting. However, determined to avoid localization and continuity issues that had troubled some episodes of *Astro Boy,* NBC Enterprises sent a list of new directives. These included a request not to have an ongoing story; instead, every episode should have a distinct ending, and no episodes should carry over into cliffhangers or developing storylines. Tezuka was also instructed to avoid any cartoon portrayals of blacks and not show any scenes of humans being cruel to animals: this in a drama series involving big game hunters in Africa![45] Some, although not all, of these directives were later challenged by the writers of the show, who forced concessions—that animals were permitted to be "naked" in natural settings, and that the depiction of black characters was permissible, so long as they were presented as "civilized"; evil characters could still only be white.[46]

CRISIS AND MANAGEMENT

In 1964, only a year after *Astro Boy*'s TV debut, Tezuka was already privately admitting that Mushi was following a "dangerous business model,"[47] forced to

invest vast amounts in advance for a product that was only sold piecemeal—the broadcaster generally paid for each *completed* episode, rather than the dozen that would already be in various stages of production as each was finished. He was already obliged to sink his own money into Mushi, as banks were reluctant to invest in the production of a commodity with a variable and unpredictable value. Moreover, since money was not forthcoming for any project at the moment of its inception, Tezuka attempted some semblance of financial control, budgeting 130 million yen for *Jungle Emperor,* with an estimated cost per episode of 2.5 million yen.[48]

WAS TEZUKA REALLY WRONG, OR WAS HE MERELY TRAGICALLY AHEAD OF HIS TIME?

The pessimistic perspective on such brinkmanship is a story of inevitable decline, with Tezuka's undervaluation of his own property instigating a vicious circle of declining returns and budgetary cuts, bolstered only by random injections of revenue from merchandising and foreign sales. This awful flaw was obscured in the early days of TV by the meteoric success surrounding the new shows of the early and mid-1960s. The shock of the new propelled the monochrome *Astro Boy,* and then the color *Jungle Emperor* into ratings successes. As more serials competed for attention, Tezuka's market share was eroded, and he was ceaselessly obliged to fund the production of one show's deficit with the advance money from the next. Meanwhile, from the very outset, his serials were unable to profit solely on sponsorship and broadcast. They demanded merchandising and foreign sales in order to survive, and it only took a single disappointment to expose the dangerous financial model used at Mushi.

By the end of the 1960s, Tezuka was turning his back on television, investing his hopes in the world of films for grown-ups, on the understanding that the cinema market in general was still bigger for adults than it was for children. When *1001 Nights* (1969, *Sen'ya ichiya monogatari*) failed to recoup its production costs, Mushi Pro was spiraling into danger and was so fragile that the economic downturn in the early 1970s destroyed it. However, Mushi Pro was not the only corporation affected by such issues; even Tōei Dōga was laying off staff in the early 1970s. Advertising and sponsorship, too, were diluted across multiple channels and properties, and would never repeat the rapid revenue rise of the early years 1958 to 1963.

When the release of *1001 Nights* failed to turn into the international success for which Tezuka had been hoping, the net shortfall on his budget receipts was 9.1 million yen. He was forced to amortize this loss onto his next film, *Cleopatra* (1970, alternate title *Kureopatora,* released in the United States

as *Cleopatra: Queen of Sex*), squeezing an already tight budget, disenchanting an already overworked staff, and creating an even less realistic sales target for the production to break even.[49] But the budget shortfall on *1001 Nights* was minimal by early twenty-first-century standards, to the extent that a modern big-name anime feature can make such amounts back from a minimum guarantee for a single foreign territory's video rights. Was Tezuka really wrong, or was he merely tragically ahead of his time? Ten years after the collapse of Mushi Pro with debts of 220 million yen, the shape of the film industry would be transmuted forever by the new markets of video and cable, in which a completed property such as *1001 Nights* could be an asset, not a liability.[50]

TEZUKA'S LEGACY . . . OR CURSE?

Tezuka Osamu himself would claim that he was a creative but not a businessman,[51] although evidence can also be found that he was notably ahead of his competitors in terms of crisis management. Many writers on anime, particularly those with an Asian studies background, might regard it as patronizing and condescending to describe Tezuka as "the Walt Disney of Japan," although this was a role to which Tezuka himself sometimes openly aspired.[52] We might remember that *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* had been a leap of faith on the part of the Disney Company, and one with a cost of almost $1.5 million dollars in 1937.[53] Once ridiculed in Hollywood as "Disney's Folly," it would have bankrupted its creator if it had failed at the box office. Tezuka's gamble with Mushi Pro, when set against Disney's with *Snow White,* seems almost conservative by comparison. He was simply not as lucky.

If Tezuka was misled by *Astro Boy*'s early success into investing too much in a flawed business model, then he was not alone in the Japanese animation business. In fact, it was Tezuka who seems to have first appreciated the limited shelf life of monochrome animation, and who was first with color TV. If one regards the collapse of Mushi Pro in 1973 as part of a larger, recessional malaise, can we really hold Tezuka responsible for the company's demise? Instead of standing, baffled, at the helm of his sinking ship, he made careful efforts to separate it into discrete corporate entities as early as 1966. As production began on *Princess Knight* (1967, *Ribon no kishi*), Tezuka noted that all the company's successes since *Astro Boy* relied on merchandising and foreign deals to take the company out of deficit and into profit. Accordingly, he restructured the company so that a new company, Mushi Pro Shōji, based in a rented office building near Ikebukuro, collected payments and then hired

separate corporate entities, including Mushi Pro, to produce the work.[54] A similar satellite entity was the manga company Tezuka Productions, incorporated in 1968, which would be the eventual inheritor of Tezuka's estate.

Tezuka's move into adult-oriented films in 1968–70 might appear with hindsight to be a deluded, doomed venture, but it was no greater a risk than his initial gamble on *Astro Boy*. Unlike many fellow producers, Tezuka was at least eagerly searching for a new source of revenue and hoped to find it in foreign markets for *1001 Nights* and *Cleopatra*. His pursuit of adult themes mirrored that of the contemporary soft-core erotic films, the *pinku eiga*, which would form one of the few lucrative areas in live-action Japanese cinema in the 1970s. He deliberately chose foreign stories and settings in order to create a commodity whose Japanese origins could be occluded with the replacement of its original language track—the very basis of many 1970s coproductions. He similarly stated that animation, by its very "placeless" nature, could carry Japanese artistic works abroad in a manner that would be forever closed to live-action entertainments[55]—a fundamental part of anime's foreign success in the 1980s. Moreover, he sought foreign sales as the core of his revenue[56]—the basis of anime's booms and busts in the 1990s and 2000s.

However, his most enduring innovation, described by one critic as his "curse," is the setting of a price for TV anime far below that of the cost of production.[57] In doing so, he initiated a structure of assumptions and techniques, for good or ill, that have endured to this day.

Notes

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3. Miyazaki Hayao, *Starting Point: 1979–1996* (San Francisco: Viz Media, 2009), 196.

4. Minakawa Yūka, *Nippon dōga no kōbōshi: Shōsetsu Tezuka gakkō* (The rise and fall of Japanese animation: The story of the Tezuka school), 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2009), 2:280.

5. Tsugata, *Anime sakka toshite no Tezuka Osamu,* 110–11.

6. Jonathan Clements and Tamamuro Motoko, *The Dorama Encyclopedia: A Guide to Japanese TV Drama since 1953* (San Francisco: Stone Bridge Press, 2003), 14.

7. Minakawa, *Nippon dōga no kōbōshi,* 1:60.

8. Tsugata, *Anime sakka toshite no Tezuka Osamu,* 32, 42–47.

9. Yamamoto Eiichi, *Mushi Pro no kōbōki: Ani Meita no seishun* (The rise and fall of Mushi Pro: The youth of "A. Nimator") (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1989), 64.

10. Tsugata, *Anime sakka toshite no Tezuka Osamu,* 84; *Aru machikado no monogatari,* dir. Tezuka Osamu (1962); translated as *Tales of the Street Corner,* in *The Astonishing Work of Tezuka Osamu,* DVD (Kino, 2009).

11. The list in full can be found in English in Frederik Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, Manga/Anime Revolution* (San Francisco: Stone Bridge Press, 2007), 71–72.

12. Yamamoto, *Mushi Pro no kōbōki,* 105–6

13. Oguro Yuichirō, *Plus Madhouse 04: Rintarō* (Tokyo: Kinema Junpōsha, 2009), 34; Minakawa, *Nippon dōga no kōbōshi,* 2:207, 298–99.

14. Donald Crafton, *Before Mickey: The Animated Film 1898–1928,* pbk. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1984), 23, 194.

15. Minakawa, *Nippon dōga no kōbōshi,* 2:51–52.

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17. Takahashi Ryōsuke, "Anime enshutsuron: Anime ni okeru enshutsu, mata kantoku to wa" (On anime production: Concerning anime production and direction), in *Animegaku* (Anime studies), ed. Takahashi Mitsuteru and Tsugata Nobuyuki (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2011): 50–54.

18. Minakawa, *Nippon dōga no kōbōshi,* 1:25.

19. Tsugata, *Anime sakka toshite no Tezuka Osamu,* 105.

20. Fred Ladd, with Harvey Deneroff, *Astro Boy and Anime Come to the Americas: An Insider's View of the Birth of a Pop Culture Phenomenon* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2009), 23.

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24. Minakawa, *Nippon dōga no kōbōshi,* 1:261.

25. Yamamoto, *Mushi Pro no kōbōki,* 94.

26. Ushio Sōji, *Tezuka Osamu to boku* (Tezuka Osamu and I) (Tokyo: Sōshisha, 2007), 249.

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28. Ladd with Deneroff, *Astro Boy and Anime Come to the Americas,* 6.

29. E.g., Misono, *Zusetsu terebi anime zensho,* 129.

30. AJA (Association of Japanese Animations [sic] and Tokyo Bureau of Industrial and Labor Affairs), *Anime no text: Anime gyōkai o mokushisu hito no tame ni* (Anime text: For those aiming for the Japanese animation industry), 3 vols. + DVD (Tokyo: AJA, 2008), 2:141.

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32. Ladd with Deneroff, *Astro Boy and Anime Come to the Americas,* 12; Minakawa, *Nippon dōga no kōbōshi,* 2:256.

33. Yamamoto, *Mushi Pro no kōbōki,* 113.

34. Ibid. Compare to Yamazaki Keishi, *Terebi anime damashii* (Spirit of TV anime) (Tokyo: Kōdansha Gendai Shinsha, 2005), 49. For modern ratings, see http://www.videor.co.jp.

35. Yamamoto, *Mushi Pro no kōbōki,* 205.

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37. Ushio, *Tezuka Osamu to boku,* 250.

38. Uchikawa Yoshimi, ed., *Nihon kōkoku hattatsushi* (A history of the development of Japanese advertising) (Tokyo: Dentsū, 1980), 243.

39. See, for example, Marc Steinberg, "Anytime, Anywhere: *Tetsuwan Atomu* Stickers and the Emergence of Character Merchandizing," in *Theory, Culture & Society* 26 (2009): 119–20.

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41. Ōtsuka Yasuo, *Sakuga asemamire* (Sweating over animation), rev. and exp. ed. (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 2001), 112–13.

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44. Yamamoto, *Mushi Pro no kōbōki,* 139; Animage, *The Art of Japanese Animation II,* 43–44.

45. Yamamoto, *Mushi Pro no kōboki,* 153–54.

46. Tsuji Masaki, *TV anime no seishunki* (The early days of TV anime) (Tokyo: Jitsugyō no Nipponsha, 1996), 79–80.

47. Yamamoto, *Mushi Pro no kōbōki,* 156.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid., 268.

50. Harold Vogel, *Entertainment Industry Economics: A Guide for Financial Analysis,* 7th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 92, fig. 3.9.

51. Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays,* 95.

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Designing a World

Although most Japanese know the core story of the *Mighty Atom* series, they often have very different mental images of it and of Atom's character. The impressions depend largely on what point in history they were exposed to the work, how old they were at the time, and whether they saw it in magazines, newspapers, paperback compilations or, later, in television animation.

Tezuka created his Mighty Atom character in a somewhat haphazard fashion as part of a story in *Shōnen* in 1951, but he did not make Atom the star of his own series until 1952. Tezuka continued to draw the *Mighty Atom* series in the same monthly magazine until it went out of business in 1968, but he also later serialized other Atom stories in the *Sankei* newspaper, in the *Tetsuwan Atomu Fan Club* magazine, and, as late as November 1981, in a publication for second graders. Over the years he was naturally able to rethink some of his original ideas, and for each publication and readership he tended to alter his drawing style and story lines slightly. As if that were not enough, unlike American comic book artists at the time (who were usually just one member of a larger production system established by a publisher), Tezuka had complete control over his work and often revised it by himself.

Like a movie editor who loves to cut and splice film, Tezuka seemed to get

a real thrill out of revising. Sometimes the revisions were necessary because episodes initially serialized in magazines would not fit properly into the number of pages allotted in later paperback compilations, or onto different page sizes. But for Tezuka these revisions involved more than simply resizing images or cutting and pasting. In many cases he would redraw individual panels to make them fit better into a new layout or rework entire sections, adding or subtracting pages and changing things around to suit his evolving tastes. At times he even seemed to regard the original magazine versions as a type of rough draft and every subsequent paperback collection as an opportunity to further polish his stories. Since *Mighty Atom* appeared in more than ten different editions of paperback collections while Tezuka was alive, it can now be hard to know what some episodes were really like in their original format.

DESPITE THE DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF MIGHTY ATOM IN EXISTENCE, THERE IS A CORE STORY LINE THAT WAS DEVELOPED IN THE ORIGINAL MANGA SERIES, AND IT IS QUITE SIMPLE.

On top of this, when Tezuka animated his manga series for a weekly television show in 1963, he had to tailor his work to a less sophisticated mass audience, in essence to make his stories simpler. Inevitably, these styles developed for animation began to affect the styles that he used for his manga story. Furthermore, since the television series required fifty-two episodes per year, it soon outpaced the original manga production. Tezuka had to create new stories exclusive to the TV series, and he often had to farm out the writing to other people. Thus, not all the manga stories were animated, and not all the animation episodes have manga counterparts. To complicate matters further, in 1980 Tezuka created a new color version of his originally black-and-white 1963 TV series. And, in 2003, fourteen years after his death, his company and Sony Pictures created yet another version with very different stories and computer-enhanced designs. Despite the different versions of Mighty Atom in existence, there is a core story line that was developed in the original manga series, and it is quite simple.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Dr. Tenma, the brilliant director of the Ministry of Science's Department of Precision Machinery, tragically loses his beloved only son, Tobio, in a car crash. Using the "cream of Japanese technology," he creates an advanced robot to replace his son. This robot is truly state of the art with unprecedented functionality, but Tenma has been slightly unhinged by his real son's death, and when he discovers that his surrogate robot-son does not grow, he becomes enraged and sells him to the circus. Thereafter he loses his job at the Ministry of Science and becomes

a mysterious hermit-like figure, only appearing in his robot-son's life at rare intervals in an unpredictable and not-always-benign fashion. His attitude toward robots is complicated, and instead of believing that they should be treated like humans, he essentially believes that they should be slaves.

In this world, robots and humans coexist, but most of the robots are far more primitive than Dr. Tenma's creation, which is capable of truly human-like emotions and reasoning. In the circus, the boy robot is given the name "Atom" and forced to participate in gladiator-type fights where, much to his dismay, he must destroy his robot opponents. One day, however, he is spotted by Professor Ochanomizu, the scientist who has succeeded Tenma at the Ministry of Science. Like Tenma, Ochanomizu is a roboticist who is obsessed with robots, but he has a far greater understanding of and affection for them, and among robots he is regarded as almost a savior figure. Realizing what a truly advanced and superior robot Atom is, Ochanomizu manages to free him from the circus. A kindly (but sometimes emotional) man with a huge nose, he thereafter becomes Atom's surrogate father and always tries to help him.

FIGURE 1. Dr. Tenma replicates his dead son. From "The Birth of Mighty Atom," first created for the Asahi Sonorama collection of *Tetsuwan Atomu*, vol. 1, June 20, 1975. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

Since Atom was designed to be a replacement for Tenma's son, he looks like a ten or twelve-year-old boy, but he has seven special powers built into him. Using jets in his feet and arms, he can fly through air; he speaks sixty languages fluently and can sense whether people are good or bad; he can amplify his hearing a thousand times and use his eyes as searchlights; and he has machine guns in his fanny. To make all this possible, he has a computer brain and a 100,000-horsepower atomic reactor in his chest.

Professor Ochanomizu nonetheless tries to help Atom integrate into human society and even to attend elementary school (depending on the episode, Atom was somewhere between the third and sixth grades). But as a brand-new robot there are still many things that Atom does not know and must learn, and many aspects of human "common sense" that he has difficulty understanding, sometimes making him seem rather "bumbling." This plot device allowed Tezuka to inject a great deal of humor into his stories, and it proved enormously popular with readers, in effect humanizing Atom. In the story, to assuage Atom's loneliness and give him a more human-like upbringing, Professor Ochanomizu also decides to create a robot family for him. He gives Atom an even more bumbling robot-father and an earnest, sweet mother, and later a sister (Uran) and a brother (Cobalt), but none of the other family members are as advanced as Atom. To the delight of young Japanese readers, while appearing "older" than Atom the parents were of course really "younger" (having been created later) and not quite as intelligent as him. In the episode "Atom Goes to Elementary School," Atom attends Ochanomizu Elementary School as a fifth grader, but his parents have to enroll in the first grade.

FIGURE 2. A jewel-encrusted Atom figurine, accurate down to the hatch in the middle of his mechanical chest and estimated to be worth more than $1 million. Photograph by author, 2003.

At school, Atom tries to act as much as possible like a normal human boy. Unlike most American superheroes, he has no "secret identity," yet he is able to blend in well, only rarely using his special powers. Approximately the same height and weight as his other schoolmates, he dresses in a typical 1950s-style schoolboy uniform of a front-buttoning black coat and short pants, and

carries a knapsack-satchel to school. He has several pals, who are archetypes of typical Japanese schoolboys, and they are conveniently able to forget that their robot-friend is a walking nuclear power reactor. Ken'ichi is the good-looking, good student type; Tamao is a glasses-wearing, scrawny boy who is often harassed by other kids (and with whom Tezuka probably identified); and Shibugaki (whose name sounds like "bitter persimmon") is the big, tough kid who hates to do homework, but who is actually somewhat spoiled—his parents are wealthy art collectors.

Atom's teacher is Shunsaku Ban, nicknamed Higeoyaji, or "Mustachio," because of his huge handlebar mustache. Mustachio is one of the main characters in many *Mighty Atom* episodes and not only because he is Atom's teacher; he is also an expert in judo and other martial arts and an amateur private eye who likes to get involved in exciting, complicated cases. Other prominent characters include the Laurel and Hardy–like police inspectors Tawashi and Nakamura, as well as a raft of regular evil characters such as Skunk Kusai, Hamegg, and Acetylene Lamp. Then there are the robots of all shapes and sizes, both good and bad, who populate Tezuka's twenty-first-century world and with whom Atom must sometimes cooperate, sometimes fight, and also sometimes save. Atom himself always tries to help humans.

To the delight of readers in 1952, although *Mighty Atom* was set fifty years in the future, the "future" that Tezuka depicted was a mixture of both the familiar and the futuristic. Atom's schoolmates wore typical Japanese schoolboy uniforms of the day, which were modeled after nineteenth-century Prussian army uniforms but allowed short pants. Mustachio, their teacher, sometimes wore Japanese wooden clogs and a threadbare business suit. And amid the skyscrapers, robots, and flying cars of future Tokyo, there were occasionally old, rundown houses and streets of the early 1950s. As Tezuka later wrote, "If I were to draw a really futuristic city, it would look too strange to readers. They wouldn't be able to identify with it at all. So to make people feel more comfortable I occasionally include things from the era they know . . . It's always an issue when drawing sci-fi manga."[1]

Unlike many of Tezuka's other manga—where a single story could run to hundreds, if not thousands, of pages—*Mighty Atom* was not one long serialized story but a string of independent episodes only very loosely strung together. In the beginning, the episodes were extremely short and often limited to around eight pages; in later years some episodes might run to twenty pages or more, and three or four serialized episodes might form a complete story.

THE READERS OF THE *MIGHTY ATOM* MANGA MAY HAVE BEEN MAINLY CHILDREN, BUT TEZUKA WAS AN INTELLECTUAL OF A CALIBER THAT APPEARS ONLY RARELY IN THE WORLD OF COMICS, AND HIS STORIES HAVE REMARKABLE VARIETY AND DEPTH.

The disadvantage of this for Tezuka was that he was unable to develop the long-arc, novelistic story lines at which he excelled. The advantage was that it gave him the opportunity to create a seemingly infinite variety of stories as long as he used Atom as the hero. It meant that Tezuka was able to unleash his imagination and explore many different scenarios and situations, in effect making the entire manga series a sort of Whitman's sampler of diverse ideas. To the shock of fans, the initial black-and-white TV-animation series ended in 1966 with Atom diving into the sun to save Earth, but in a new manga version Tezuka subsequently created for the Sankei newspaper, he went back and developed an alternate scenario. In it, he took Atom back in time and into the future, and further developed the story to satisfy both his fans and himself.

The readers of the *Mighty Atom* manga may have been mainly children, but Tezuka was an intellectual of a caliber that appears only rarely in the world of comics, and his stories have remarkable variety and depth. His series proved far more popular than he had ever imagined, and he thus kept drawing it far longer than he had ever imagined. To keep himself from getting bored, he had to incorporate subjects that interested him personally, and these also reflected the concerns of his age. The title of the 1959 work "Ivan the Fool" is derived from Russian folklore; the story is set on the moon and foreshadowed (by six months) Russia's success in orbiting a satellite around the moon that same year. The 1962 episode "Robot Land" about a robot theme park was inspired by a tale penned by the famous Japanese mystery novelist, Edogawa Rampo, and hinted at the American sci-fi film *Westworld,* created in 1973. The 1956 story "Yellow Horse" was a seemingly prescient work about drug addiction, but it reflected the epidemic of amphetamine abuse that had inflicted Japan in the early postwar years. The 1960 work "Invisible Giant" was inspired by the 1958 Hollywood film *The Fly.* And in 1967, during the Vietnam War, Tezuka would also create "The Angel of Vietnam," sending Atom to protect Vietnamese villagers from American B-52 bombers, which he intercepted and tied-up in pretzel shapes.

This variety resulted in a readership far more diverse than that for most manga, which were at the time still read almost entirely by children, especially boys. By 1964, sales of the Kappa Comics paperback version of the *Mighty Atom* manga were breaking records, surpassing one million copies and

FIGURE 3. September 15, 1975, issue of a Kappa Comics special educational edition of a *Tetsuwan Atomu* episode, in which Atom also explains robotics to readers. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

foreshadowing the emergence of manga as a true mass medium many years later. An ad for the books in the *Tokyo Shinbun* newspaper that year ran testimonials from a novelist, a university professor, and even a sumo wrestler, all of whom not only recommended the books for children but unabashedly and publicly declared that they loved to read themselves. The young sumo star stated, "Atom is small but very powerful, and I learn a lot from the way he carries himself."[2]

* * *

OVER THE DECADES, TEZUKA EXPERIMENTED WITH DIFFERENT ART STYLES AND REFINED HIS DRAWINGS OF THE CHARACTERS IN *MIGHTY ATOM*.

Over the decades, Tezuka experimented with different art styles and refined his drawings of the characters in *Mighty Atom*. Yet anyone familiar with comics can see that Tezuka's biggest stylistic inspiration is the rounded style of Walt Disney, whose work he adored. In his early years, Tezuka had spent hours copying the style of Disney characters in comics and animation, and in 1951 and 1952 he even illustrated Japanese versions of *The Story of Walt Disney*, as well Disney's *Bambi* and *Pinocchio* for *Manga Shōnen* magazine. Copyrights were more loosely enforced in Japan than they are now, and given the fact that the Walt Disney Company was accused of copying Tezuka in the 1990s, it is interesting to note that Tezuka's manga version of Disney's *Pinocchio* animation was not officially licensed.[3]

Because of Tezuka's work in popularizing the long cinematic "story manga" that are so prevalent in Japan today, he has been nearly deified in the media. Only recently, many years after his death, has it become possible for most writers to objectively examine his work and his influences. Although Tezuka was a pioneer and a brilliant innovator, he was also like a sponge, soaking up influences from whomever or whatever he admired, whether novels or films or art styles, often using them deliberately in a type of homage. In reality, his art style owes a great debt not only to Disney but to Max Fleischer (creator of the big-eyed Betty Boop), as well as Japanese artists who preceded him, such as Yokoyama Ryūichi, Tagawa Suihō, and Ōshiro Noboru. Toward the end of his life, Tezuka was more than willing to admit that his style was a potpourri of influences, and he even seemed to enjoy speculating on what might have inspired him as a youth. He spoke freely of times when he, as a child, religiously traced American newspaper comic strips such as George McManus's *Bringing Up Father* (otherwise known as "Jiggs and Maggie") and suggested that the crowd scenes and backgrounds in his early works were probably influenced by those of McManus. He also recounted having devotedly studied the comic strips of other popular prewar American artists such as Milt Gross.[4]

Specific influences aside, for his manga Tezuka adopted a streamlined style of character drawing that was almost entirely based on ellipses. It was actually an old technique of animators, and it allowed him to draw at a remarkable speed and to develop his more "cinematic" and novelistic style—to create longer and more dynamic works. To those familiar with comics and character design, Tezuka's Atom character is reminiscent of the American "Kewpie" doll character, created at the beginning of the twentieth century and currently

used as a logo by a Japanese firm of the same name for its mayonnaise and other products. But it also closely resembles an American cartoon character that was popular around the same time in America in both comic books and animation: Paul Terry's *Mighty Mouse,* which was in essence a furry-animal "cartoon" parody of the *Superman* story. In fact, Tezuka once wrote, "Atom's father was in effect Mighty Mouse, whose father was Superman. And that's the reason I used the [English] subtitle of 'Mighty Atom' on the opening page when I first serialized the story. You can also see the resemblance to Mighty Mouse in the flying scenes, where Atom has one hand out in front of him, in a fist."[5] At other times, Tezuka did not hesitate to speculate on the similarities between Mighty Atom and Mickey Mouse.

So many Tokyo publishers began to seek out Tezuka that he moved there in 1952. As was true for the rest of his career, he liked to please people and typically accepted too much work from too many magazines. No matter how fast he drew (and he was one of the fastest), he simply could not keep up with the demand. The result was a line of embittered editors from competing magazines, who were always lounging about in the reception area of his studio, waiting for him to complete stories for them (sometimes fighting among themselves). When Tezuka finally reached his physical limits, he had no choice but to call on help, and he began enlisting talented young artists to aid him in some of the more mundane drawing tasks, such as inking the black spaces in the illustrations, drawing the frames around panels, and so forth.

In this way, Tezuka developed what is now known in Japan as the "production system," in which a successful manga artist employs multiple assistants to help him or her crank out up to three or four hundred pages of manga a month. It is a system utterly unlike that traditionally used in American comic books (where, until recently, the artist was often only one member of a team of writers, inkers, colorists, and letterers, all controlled by the publisher). With Tezuka's way of doing things, the artist maintained control and in effect performed a role similar to a director, assigning tasks to assistants. Today some manga artists in Japan with production systems may do little more than ink the eyes of their main characters, but not Tezuka. He was an extreme perfectionist, always reluctant to relinquish any creative control. As a result, he nonetheless would do most of the work, creating the story, penciling and inking the main characters by himself, and then having assistants mainly do backgrounds and finishing work. But by creating the production system, Tezuka wound up training a generation of younger artists who went on to become household names in their own right, and further developed the "story manga" format that he had pioneered.

FIGURE 4. Tezuka drawing a huge image of Atom in front of an adoring crowd at Kobe City's Portopia Exposition in the summer of 1981. Photograph by author, 1981.

As Tezuka drew his *Mighty Atom* series, he sometimes experimented with character designs, developing a certain "look" as he went along. It is something that happens to most cartoonists or animators as they draw. It is also the reason that Disney's 1934 Donald Duck looks quite different than it did in 1960, or that Charles Schulz's 1950s Charlie Brown character looks so different in the 1970s. Eventually, of course, to avoid confusion, the character's "look" must be codified to some degree, especially if it is ever animated or turned into merchandise and other people have to work on the design.

As most schoolchildren in Japan know, Atom is usually drawn with five eyelashes above each eye. Also, he has horn-like objects on his head, which are actually locks of plastic "hair" and, like Mickey Mouse's ears, are always visible no matter which way his head is turned. According to Tezuka, the idea for this came from his own hair, which (when he was young and had a full head of hair) used to stand up on both sides after he took a bath. As thousands of young Japanese children have discovered when bathing, it is something they can easily replicate on their own heads with a liberal application of shampoo. Meanwhile, the *Pinocchio* tale inspired other aspects of Atom's character design. And the briefs and red boots that Atom wears when not in his school uniform are presumably an homage to Superman or Mighty Mouse.

Throughout most of the life of the manga series, Atom (and most of the characters in the story) was drawn with only four fingers. This was a device pioneered in the United States and still used with many Disney characters. It was done primarily for ease of drawing, and because five fingers, when rendered in cartoon style, often wind-up looking like too many fingers on one hand. In animation, it also becomes particularly difficult to make the hands look realistic; Tezuka sometimes noted a hand in motion can appear to have six fingers.[6] Toward the end of his career, however, Tezuka always drew Atom with five fingers, and according to the Tezuka Productions Master Guideline, any new images of Atom created for advertising or other purposes now have to show him with five. What is often not mentioned in Japan is that this shift came about because of protests from groups that work to defend the rights of the *burakumin,* descendants of an outcast group of Japan's feudal period. Many of this minority group's ancestors were involved in activities frowned upon in traditional Buddhist society, such as working with leather or occupations related to death or animal slaughter. As a result, in Japan four fingers can also be a way to represent *yotsuashi,* or "four legged" animals, and—by extension—an unflattering way to refer to the *burakumin.*

At times Atom's "look" changed quite radically, as Tezuka sought the perfect level of realism and cuteness. In the beginning of the series, as he later lamented, he was under tremendous pressure and hadn't fully worked out the story or designs. As a result, the faces of some of the supporting characters, such as Atom's father and mother, shifted in nearly every panel, the father having a mustache in some panels and not in others. This was partly the result of Tezuka's having been isolated in a hotel room by editors in a Japanese practice known as *kanzume,* or "canning," which is used to put inordinate pressure on artists, and also from people helping him who were unfamiliar with Atom's basic design. Over the years, in different stories, Atom's proportions also shifted, his limbs or torso sometimes longer than at other times. Tezuka was an extremely competitive person, and when fashions in the manga world changed from the cute, Disney-esque style that he had popularized to a more realistic look—as symbolized by the more realistic *gekiga* (action pictures) boom of the late sixties—he tried to adapt by making Atom taller and more serious looking. "But the weird thing is," Tezuka later wrote, "even though he was supposed to be 'cool,' the taller [Atom] got, the less readers liked him. So right after that I started drawing him like a cute kid again, and sure enough his popularity went up. Why, I dunno."[7]

Before perfecting his production system, if Tezuka was overwhelmed by other deadlines or fell ill, he occasionally had to let others stand in for him.

Once, when he was ill, the editors had another up-and-coming manga artist, Kuwata Jirō, draw the last part of "Shoot-Out in the Alps," serialized in 1956. When the story was later compiled into paperbacks, Tezuka—in typical fashion—went back and redrew most of the pages. Many of the most famous manga artists of the sixties and seventies, such as Akatsuka Fujio, Fujiko F. Fujio, Fujiko Fujio (A), Matsumoto Leiji, and Ishinomori Shōtarō, helped Tezuka in their youth in some form or another, on some work or another. And in *Mighty Atom,* their work can still be spotted. Ishinomori's cross-hatched backgrounds are easily identifiable in the 1955 episode "Electro."[8]

THE *MIGHTY ATOM* MANGA OWED THEIR SUCCESS NOT ONLY TO THE ORIGINALITY OF THE STORIES BUT TO WHAT TODAY MIGHT BE CALLED THEIR "CLASSIC" LOOK.

The *Mighty Atom* manga owed their success not only to the originality of the stories but to what today might be called their "classic" look: the Disney-esque style with the endearing, rounded, clean lines that Tezuka eventually developed. It was a look initially regarded sometimes as being *battaa kusai,* or something that "smells like butter" and is too "foreign" in appearance. But it soon became the default style of nearly all manga in Japan, because so many younger manga artists in the fifties and early sixties idolized and imitated Tezuka. It in fact took many years for artists to begin to break away from his style.

Another hallmark of Tezuka's *Mighty Atom* and his other early manga is the influence of live theater. As noted previously, Tezuka grew up in the town of Takarazuka, near Osaka, famous for its all-female theater troupe of the same name, its hot springs, lush hills, and amusement park. It was, for a child, a sort of paradise, and today probably akin to growing up next to Disneyland. The theater showcased elaborate revue-style performances, with song and dance performed by young women playing both male and female roles, the audience also being largely female. The productions were romantic, with elaborate, flowery stage designs and stories often set in foreign locales. Foreign stories that did not contribute to the war effort were generally banned after the militarists took control of Japan, but perhaps because Japan was allied with Germany and Italy, a production of *Pinocchio* was held in the tense year of 1942 after war had been declared on the United States. As Nakano Hareyuki, the author of the book *Tezuka Osamu no Takarazuka* (Osamu Tezuka's Takarazuka), notes about the theater before the repression of the war years and after:

> The musicals were set in Paris, New York, and royal Arabian or Chinese courts, in eras that ranged from the Middle Ages with knights or pirates, to the distant future. For children (and probably adult viewers, too), the stage of Takarazuka was like a ship that traveled the world, like a time machine that transcended time.[9]

Before the war, Tezuka's mother regularly took him to these shows, and he became hooked. He later wrote that they may have been "shameless appropriations of Broadway musicals or poor imitations of the Folies Bergère or the Moulin Rouge, but I wasn't aware of that and considered them the highest form of art in the world." When actresses on the stage exclaimed, "Ah, lovely Paris!" or "Ah, Manhattan and Broadway, the capital of our dreams!" Tezuka said that he would be so addicted to the dreams and longing portrayed that he would "fall into a state of delirium."[10]

Nakano notes that many aspects of Tezuka's manga can be traced back to this influence of Takarazuka and its environs. Tezuka's very early children's manga, especially *Tsumi to batsu* (1953, Crime and punishment) and works he later created for girls, such as *Ribon no kishi* (1953–56, Princess Knight) often had page designs that directly evoked stage sets, or gender-bending stories, crowd scenes, and exotic foreign locales à la Takarazuka theater. These styles especially influenced the creators of the shojo, or "girls'" manga genre, which Tezuka later helped to develop.

And there is more than a whiff of Takarazuka-style bisexuality in *Mighty Atom*. Tezuka once declared in a 1978 interview that he had originally intended his Mighty Atom to be an alluring and beautiful female android; the only reason he made Atom a male robot with superpowers, he said, was that he was drawing in a manga magazine for boys. But the unintended consequence of this has indeed been far-reaching. As an *Asahi* newspaper editorialist noted after Tezuka's death in 1989, Atom's androgynous, cute, and long-eyelash design has directly influenced the unisex look of the male protagonists so popular in nearly all girls' manga today.[11]

Immediately after the war, the young Tezuka became an even greater fan of Takarazuka productions and of theater in general. He had always loved to write stories as a child, but now he began appearing in local student drama productions and drawing short comic strips and cartoons for Takarazuka theater fan magazines. His younger sister, Minako, recalls not only his cartooning zeal but also his infatuation with theater. Right after the war, the two of them went to Osaka to see yet another performance of *Pinocchio* by the Takarazuka group, and she is convinced it is one of the main inspirations for *Mighty Atom*.

"My brother," she stated in 2003, "was so infatuated with the production that he remembered all the songs and the dialogue. In the scene where Pinocchio comes to life and starts moving, I can really see the birth of Mighty Atom."[12]

It was this theatrical influence that led Tezuka to start his now-famous "star system," which remains one of the most unusual innovations he made in the world of manga, and which has not been widely adopted by other artists. As a child, Tezuka often created characters to be "actors" and used them in the long manga that he drew, such as an early, unpublished version of *Lost World* (1948, *Rosuto waarudo*). By doing so, he could act like the director of a Takarazuka musical revue or a Hollywood film and cast his characters in different roles, in different stories. Later on, he deemphasized his star system, but with *Mighty Atom* it is still in full view. Thus, characters such as Mustachio, Dr. Ochanomizu, Lamp, Hamegg, etc., also appear in many other Tezuka works, just like actors, often under different names. And many of these regular characters are based on real people. The usually evil character "Lamp" is based on an old school chum who had a flat depression in the back of his head, so Tezuka often draws him with a candle on his head. Kim Sankaku, another usually bad character, is based on the local watchmaker's son. If not based on real people, many supporting actors are inspired by famous movie actors, since Tezuka was also a serious movie buff, who in addition to drawing manga and making animation also often wrote articles on film. The thick-necked character Boone Marukubi is modeled after the French actor Lino Ventura. Yet another character was inspired by James Mason. And among Tezuka's stable of "actors" there are also purely nonsensical gag characters who are assigned impromptu roles. Hyōtantsugi, a silly patched-up gourd, often flies out of nowhere at the most inappropriate moments. Spider, a small, big-nosed character with huge feet and no arms, also often pops out of nowhere to announce "*Omukae de gonsu,*" which loosely translates to "here ta meet ya!" Invented by Tezuka as a small boy, these characters are used solely for comic relief.

As a work-in-progress for nearly two decades, the *Mighty Atom* series has many weaknesses and discontinuities. To non-Japanese and to those unfamiliar with the conventions of manga, Tezuka's use of cute, Disney-esque characters in serious stories (often with deep meanings) can create a mental dissonance. To the uninitiated, it can be disturbing to see children's characters act like their adult counterparts in Russian novels: to be introspective, to agonize, to commit acts of both good and evil, and to even die. On top of this, Tezuka's star system requires prior knowledge of the system to fully

FIGURE 5. Japanese postage stamp memorializing Mighty Atom, issued 2003. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

appreciate it, and his deliberate use of gag characters to break up the flow of a serious story's plot can be frustrating to the point of exasperation. All these aspects of Tezuka's manga stories—including *Mighty Atom*—have been great obstacles in trying to popularize his early work outside of Japan.

Nonetheless, the world that Tezuka designed for *Mighty Atom* hit a certain sweet spot in the Japanese national consciousness. Over the decades, the eccentric aspects of this design allowed Tezuka to have a special, intimate dialogue with several generations of fans, who learned to ignore the inconsistencies and love every aspect of his work.

Notes

1. Tezuka Osamu, *Tetsuwan Atomu* (Mighty Atom), 21 vols. (Tokyo: Akita Shoten, 1999–2000), 16:6–7.

2. Advertisement in *Tokyo shimbun,* February 11, 1964.

3. "*Bambi, Pinokio: Maboroshi no Tezuka sakuhin, fukkoku*" (*Bambi, Pinocchio*: Rare Tezuka works to be republished), *Asahi shimbun,* March 17, 2006.

4. Tezuka Osamu and Jun Ishiko, *Tezuka Osamu manga no okugi* (The esoterica of Tezuka Osamu's manga), 59–68. Reprinted in Tezuka Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū* (The complete works of Tezuka Osamu's manga), 400 vols. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1977–97), vol. 391.

5. Tezuka Osamu, "Sūpaaman tokubetsu kanshōki" (Special notes of appreciation on Superman), in Haruji Mori, *Zusetsu Tetsuwan Atomu* (Mighty Atom illustrated) (1979; Tokyo: Kawade shoten shinsha, 2003), 36–37.

6. Tezuka, *Tetsuwan Atomu,* 15:188; ibid., 9:8.

7. Ibid.

8. Tezuka, *Tetsuwan Atomu,* 9:170; ibid., 15:7–8.

9. Nakano Hareyuki, *Tezuka Osamu no Takarazuka* (Osamu Tezuka's Takarazuka), (Tokyo: *Chikuma Shobō*, 1994), 60.

10. Tezuka Osamu, *Boku wa mangaka—Tezuka Osamu jiden* 1 (I am a manga artist: The autobiography of Tezuka Osamu, vol. 1) (Tokyo: Yamato Shobō, 1979), 18–19.

11. Tezuka Osamu, *Mushirareppanashi* (Well-digested talks) (Tokyo: Ushio Shuppan, 1981), 130; and editorial, "*Tetsuwan Atomu no messeeji*" (Mighty Atom's message), *Asahi shimbun,* February 10, 1989.

12. Kawai Mamie, "Atomu no haha, Takarazuka kageki?" (Was the Takarazuka Theater the mother of Atom?), *Asahi shimbun,* April 7, 2003.

UNICO
ユニコ
BY ANNO MOYOKO
安野モヨコ
Translated by
Matthew Young

WHEN SHE CAME TO, UNICO WAS IN A PRIVATE GIRLS SCHOOL, LONELY, ONCE AGAIN HAVING FORGOTTEN EVERYTHING.
SNIFFLE
WHERE... AM I?
.....
I'M HUNGRY.
DON'T SCREW WITH ME.
I'LL FREAKING KILL YOU.
GYA HAHA HA
ANYONE HAVE REMOVER?
UMM...
WHAT!?
I KNOW! A TRANSFER STUDENT?
HEY WHAT'S THAT HORN THING?
WHO ARE YOU?
LET'S BE FRIENDS!
I'M UNICO.

SHE'S WEIRD.
UNICO ....
MIXED RACE?
I'M SORRY, BUT... I'M STARVING.
DO YOU HAVE ANY FOOD?
THAT'S SO RANDOM.
HEY. I'VE GOT SOME CHIPS.
AND THEY'RE CHEESE FLAVOR.
ARE SNACKS ENOUGH?
SHE'S NOT EVEN WEARING A BRA!!
I'D LIKE AN EGG WITH EXTRA SAUCE.
AAH, ME TOO...
WANNA GO TO SONY PLAZA AFTER THIS? I NEED MASCARA.
THE LAMÉ STUFF
ME TOO...
HEY, YOU...
SHOULDN'T WE GO BACK TO SCHOOL?
THE TEACHER WILL BE LOOKING FOR US...
AND YOU DON'T HAVE A SINGLE YEN ON YOU.
WE'RE PRETTY BROKE TOO, YOU KNOW.

BUT IT'S OUR TREAT THIS TIME.
NO WORRIES.
AREN'T I COOL?
IT'S NOT LIKE YOU'RE PAYING.
UMM...
HERE, TAKE THESE...
HOW DID YOU DO THAT?
WHERE'D THAT COME FROM?
IT'S LAMÉ MASCARA.
WHAT DID YOU DO...
STEAL IT?
OH, SHIT. YOU SHOULDN'T DO THAT.
UMMM...

YOU WERE ALL SO NICE TO ME.
I CAN DO MAGIC FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE NICE TO ME.
NO WAY!
BUT SHE DOES HAVE HORNS.
IT'S COSPLAY, MORON!!
OKAY THEN .....
A PINK LOUIS VUITTON BAG!
CAN YOU DO IT?
SHE DID IT!
IT'S A REAL ONE.
YOU CAN'T EVEN GET THIS IN STORES NOW.
UNICO!!
!!!

SHE'S GOT MAGIC POWERS, RIGHT?
WHAT SHOULD WE DO?
NOT SO GREAT... TSUCCHII IS COMING OVER TODAY...
WELL, SHE CAN'T SLEEP OUT IN THE OPEN.
SORRY, MY ROOM IS TOO SMALL.
HEY!! MINE TOO!! I MEAN, I'M NOT EVEN GOING BACK HOME.
HOW ABOUT YOUR PLACE, YOUKO?
OH, RIGHT!
FIND SOMEPLACE TO STAY WITH YOUR MAGIC.
OK!!
OKEY DOKEY. SO, SEE YA!
SEE YA AT SCHOOL TOMORROW.
STILL FEELING TERRIBLY UNSURE ABOUT WHAT HAD HAPPENED, UNICO WAS CARRIED AWAY BY ZEPHYRUS, THE SPIRIT OF THE WEST WIND. THIS WRITER, AS WELL, THINKS THIS WAS PROBABLY FOR THE BEST.

Everyday Life

ŌTSUKA EIJI
Translated by Thomas Lamarre

An Unholy Alliance of Eisenstein and Disney: The Fascist Origins of Otaku Culture

The very fact of speaking about Japanese animation and manga to a non-Japanese audience is for me a source of not inconsiderable consternation. When I was young, that is, not much past thirty, ours was the first generation of young people to be called "otaku." To present this in the passive—"we were called"—creates something of a false impression. It would be closer to the truth to say that we actively adopted the name ourselves. As a matter of fact, the term "otaku" first appeared in the mid-1980s, in a column in a pornographic manga magazine for which I served as editor.[1] The term "otaku" came into the public eye somewhat after, in 1990, when the term was bandied about in the mass media in the context of describing the psychology and preferences of a young man convicted of sex crimes, purportedly a fan of comics, animation, and SFX films. Incidentally, I believe that the porn magazine I was involved in was also one of the sources of what is today called *moe,* a term referring to "elements of sexual attraction of shōjo characters in the world of animations," which has even become academic terminology for foreign scholars researching Japanese manga and animation. The image of the young man mentioned above, the one who committed sexual crimes, is close to what is in Japan today called *hikikomori* (social recluse) or NEET (not in education,

AN AESTHETIC UNIFICATION OF EISENSTEIN AND DISNEY UNDER CONDITIONS OF FASCISM IS THE ORIGIN OF THE JAPANESE MANGA AND ANIMATION.

employment, or training). One wouldn't think that such terms explain his crime, but from around the late 1980s in Japanese society, the term "otaku" took on very negative connotations, describing young people with severe socialization problems.

Among the readers of the pornography magazine I edited, however, were considerable numbers of Tokyo University students. Among them were Azuma Hiroki and Miyadai Shinji who today speak eloquently to foreign audiences about Japanese pop culture. As they and some of their peers have attained high status in the academy and the world of government officials, the attitude toward otaku in Japanese society has changed dramatically. We've reached the point where officials in the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry have taken notice of the foreign approval of otaku culture, and contemporary artists intent on self-promotion have jumped on the wagon, insisting, quite arbitrarily, that otaku and *moe* are representative of Japanese pop culture.

Incidentally, some ten years ago, I become involved in the trial of the sexual perpetrator. While there is absolutely no excuse for his actions, I became somewhat angry about how judgment of his crimes kept shifting onto otaku hobbies or tastes. He was sentenced to death in 2008. His name was Miyazaki Tsutomu. I think it important to keep in mind both his name and his interest in Japanese manga and animation.

Speaking before all of you who are interested in Japanese manga and animation, I feel it important to relate to you, on the one hand, the negative cultural aspects of otaku and *moe* in Japan today, and on the other hand, to speak about the circumstances in Japan whereby the government, the academy, and contemporary artists make use of otaku and *moe* for the purpose of self-promotion.

The manga and animation about which I have been speaking so critically is today being used to promote the nation of Japan, and so I cannot bring myself to celebrate how these forms of expression have gained in popularity. Because Japanese manga and animation are being used in this way, I wish to speak in such a manner as to challenge the situation in contemporary Japan in which the forgetting of "history" is turning us into a nation of thoroughly triumphant patriots, but also in a manner easy to understand for foreign audiences.

An aesthetic unification of Eisenstein and Disney under conditions of fascism is the origin of the Japanese manga and animation that everyone today associates either with Japanese traditions or with postmodernism. I

should first mention that the two key sites for my thinking about the unholy alliance of Disney and the Russian avant-garde in Japan. The first is the aesthetics of drawing characters, and the second is the aesthetics of staging or presentation.[2]

Let me first address the problem of drawing characters. In Japan as in Western Europe, an avant-garde art movement arose in the latter part of the 1920s. As Murayama Tomoyoshi has indicated, it had a major impact on the domains of drawing and painting in the form of "constructivism" (Figure 1). Under the rubric of constructivism, Murayama includes (a) Americanism, (b) mechanized forms of expression intended for the masses, (c) glorification of the mechanical itself, and (d) constructivist forms of expression using geometrical designs and materials. In Figure 2, we see an instance of constructivism as young Japanese artists understood it at the time. The "construction" of a cargo automobile is rendered through the use of geometric designs such as circles and straight lines. While such works are clearly borrowed from those drawn by "original artists" of the Soviet avant-garde, it is very interesting to note how much simpler in execution was the Japanese understanding of constructivism at that time. In the early 1920s, as in any other country or period, such artists were fearless young men. Figure 3 shows some of the young men who participated in the Japanese avant-garde art movement of the 1920s. Takamizawa Michinao is among them. They were the first in modern Japanese art to stage all manner of "performances"—enacting strange dances half nude, as in Figure

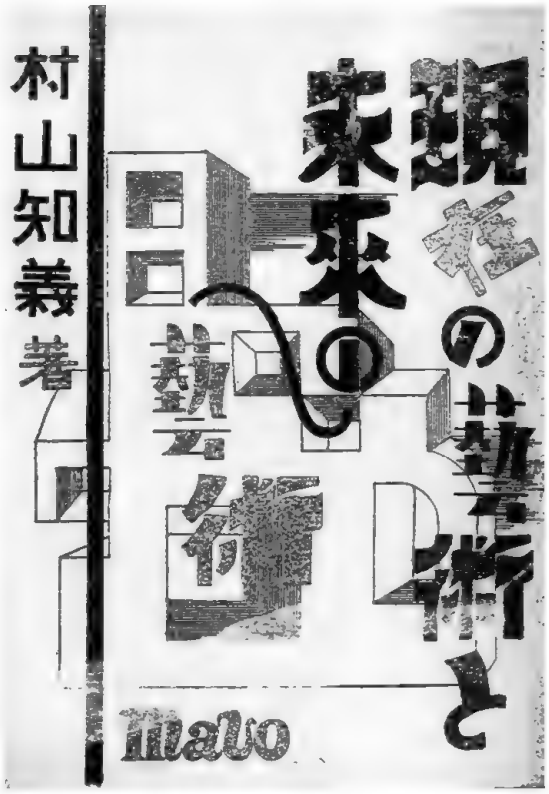


FIGURE 1. Murayama Tomoyoshi, from *Genzai no geijutsu to mirai ni geijutsu* (1924).

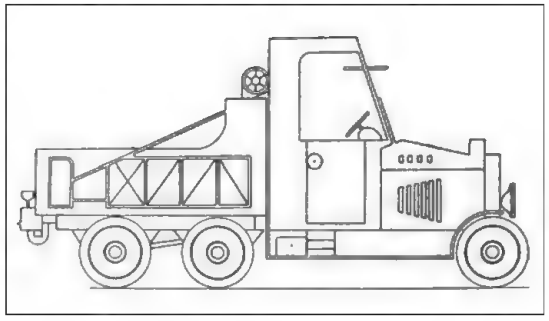


FIGURE 2. Yanase Masamu, "Kamotsu jidōsha," from *Mizue* (July 1925).

FIGURE 3. "Odori" featuring Iwanofu Sumiyabitchi, Okada Tatsuo, and Takamizawa Michinao, from *1920 nendai Nihon* exhibition catalogue (1988).

FIGURE 4. Tagawa Suiho, *Norakuro jōtōhei* (1931).

3, or wandering around the city with drawings in a cart and calling it an "art exhibition" or throwing stones at authorized art exhibitions and running off.

In the 1930s, however, Stalin began to criticize constructivist artists in the Soviet Union. Under the influence of Soviet socialism, many of the avant-grade artists in Taishō Japan shifted their emphasis from constructivism to social realism. One of the young men among them, Takakimi Michinao, suddenly changed his name to Tagawa Suiho and started to produce works like the one shown in Figure 4—the character Norakuro. Takakimi transformed himself into manga artist Tagawa Suiho in 1931, the first year of the Fifteen Year Asia-Pacific War. That Norakuro was born in the first year of the Fifteen Year War is highly emblematic of the times. Such was the fate of Japanese manga and animation as media produced under conditions of war.

Within Japanese art history, Tagawa is considered a traitor, for he abandoned the avant-garde art movements of the mid-1920s and shifted his allegiance to manga, a mass-oriented form of expression. Yet did Tagawa truly abandon avant-garde art? He did not. Rather he created a ground for modern manga expression by taking up Disney within the framework of constructivism.

Let's look closer at this process. Figure 5 presents a rabbit from *Chōjū jimbutsu giga* (a twelfth-century picture scroll of "animal person caricatures"), which is often taken as the origin for Japanese manga. If you mentally contrast this rabbit with Mickey Mouse (which we are unable to reproduce due to copyright), however, you'll surely see that the character Norakuro bears greater resemblance to Mickey Mouse.

FIGURE 5. Detail from *Chōjū jimbutsu giga emaki* (twelfth century).

In fact, in the 1930s, beginning with Mickey Mouse, massive amounts of American animation poured into Japan. As a result, within a very short period of time, Japanese manga was full of characters modeled on Mickey Mouse and Felix the Cat (Figure 6). And the 1930s saw a dramatic increase in the numbers of manga aimed at children. Suddenly pirate editions of Mickey Mouse were being published. Figure 7 is excerpted from a work called *Mickey Mouse Chūsuke,* which opens with a Japanese mouse who, jealous of Mickey Mouse's popularity, makes himself a costume to become Mickey. Pirate editions of Mickey stories were also produced. Figure 8 shows a work called *Shiro chibi suihei* (Little white sailor). The little white sailor is a white bear, who then is soaked in octopus ink (Figure 9). Here, too, it is abundantly clear that he is Mickey Mouse.

The manga artists who appeared on the scene in the 1930s were conscious of the fact that they were pirating Mickey and company. Tagawa Suiho created *Norakuro* by adopting the techniques for drawing characters in Disney and Hollywood animations. Particularly important was the adoption of the "drawing techniques" for characters established in the American animation industry in the 1920s. Of particular interest are instances like that in Figure 10, where works associated with Tagawa's avant-garde circles—that is, "constructivism"—are cited in the middle of *Norakuro.*

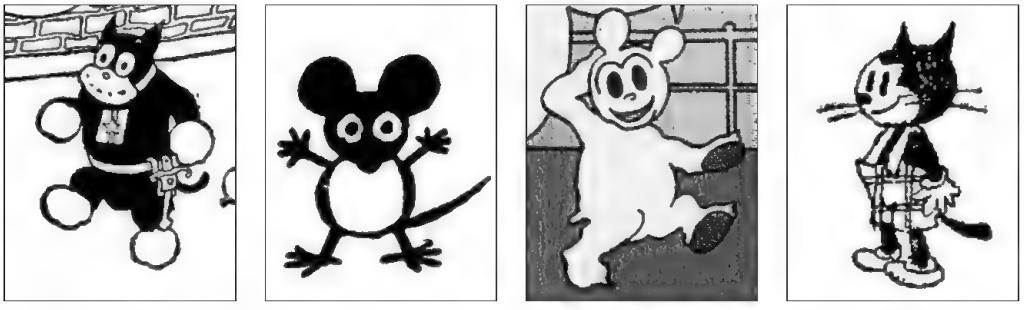


FIGURE 6. The four characters are the stray black dog from Tagawa Suiho's "Norakuro series" (1931–39); the mouse from Shimada Keizō's Bōken Dankichi series (1934–1938); the white bear by Ōshiro Noboru's *Shirochibi suihei* (1933), and the cat from Shimada Keiji's *Nekoshichi-sensei* (1940).

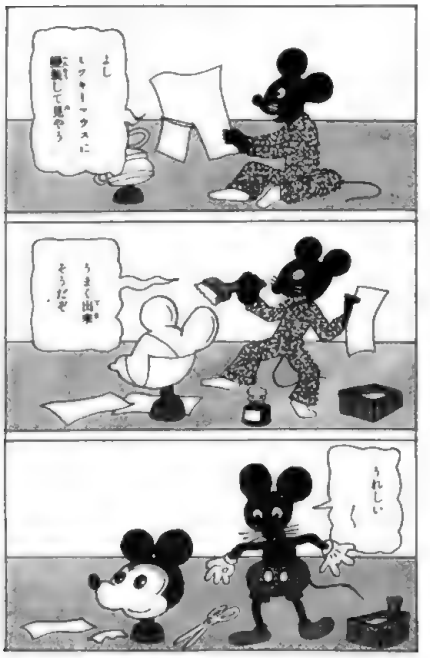


FIGURE 7. Hirose Shinpei, *Mikkii Chūsuke* (1938).

FIGURE 8. Ōshiro Noboru, *Shirochibi suihei* (1934).

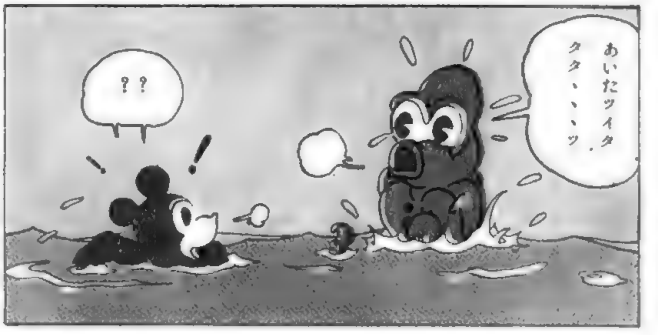


FIGURE 9. Ōshiro Noboru, *Shirochibi suihei* (1934).

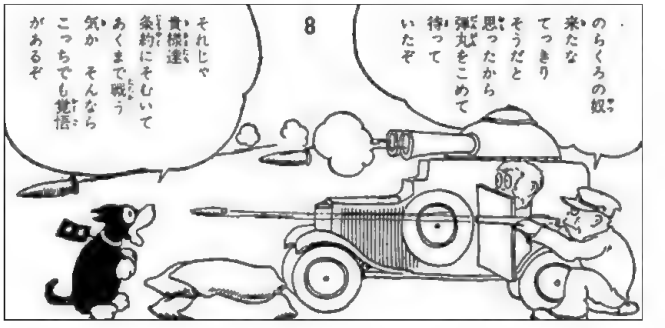


FIGURE 10. Tagawa Suihō, "Mōken guntai no Norakuro ittōhei," from *Shōnen kurabu*, April 1932.

Above all, Tagawa used the Americanism of Disney characters as a form of expression targeted toward the masses within the print medium of manga. As a manga artist, Tagawa had already addressed the topic of "machines" in his very first work, *Jinzō ningen* or "Artificial Human" (Figure 11). The artificial human was a notion borrowed from such works as Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* and Karel Čapek's *RUR*. The robot was an emblematic motif in the Japanese avant-garde movement.

FIGURE 11. Tagawa Suihō, "Jinzō ningen," from *Fuji*, April 1929.

Similarly, Tagawa understood Disney's characters above all as "constructions." It was the same for other manga artists. The young men who experienced the avant-garde movement in Japan understood Mickey Mouse as a form of "drawing based on geometrical construction." Figure 12 shows a guide for drawing Mickey by animator Ōfuji Noburō. Mickey is clearly understood as a "construction" based on "circles." Thus these men approached the "form" of that representative character of Hollywood animation, Mickey, within the conceptual framework of "construction." As it became Disneyified, manga expression in 1930s Japan constituted a radical break with prior traditional modes of expression.

The emphasis on *Chōjū jimbutsu giga* as the origin of manga expression begins in 1924 with Hosokibara Seiki's general history of manga, *Nihon manga-shi* (History of Japanese manga) (Figure 13). In the Edo period, the style of twelfth-century picture scroll *Chōjū jimbutsu giga* became known as "Toba-e" or "Toba-style drawing," which Kuwagata Keisai made into a highly conventionalized "sketching style." Kuwagata's manga were a prolongation of this "sketching style," which tradition persisted until the mid-1920s, that is, well into the Taishō era. Hosokibara's book was published just after the rise of what I am calling Disneyification. Even today, however, because histories of Japanese manga still refer to his book, they continue to present *Chōjū jimbutsu giga* as the origin of manga. That tradition came to an end with the advent of

avant-garde artists, however, and the history of Japanese manga begins in fact with the Disneyification of Japanese manga.

At the risk of getting ahead of myself, a quick comparison of Mickey with the characters of Tezuka Osamu, the pioneer of postwar Japanese manga, makes this Disneyification very clear (Figure 14). Tezuka's style of drawing characters shows him to be a direct heir to the Disney style of manga and animation established during the Fifteen Year Asia-Pacific War.

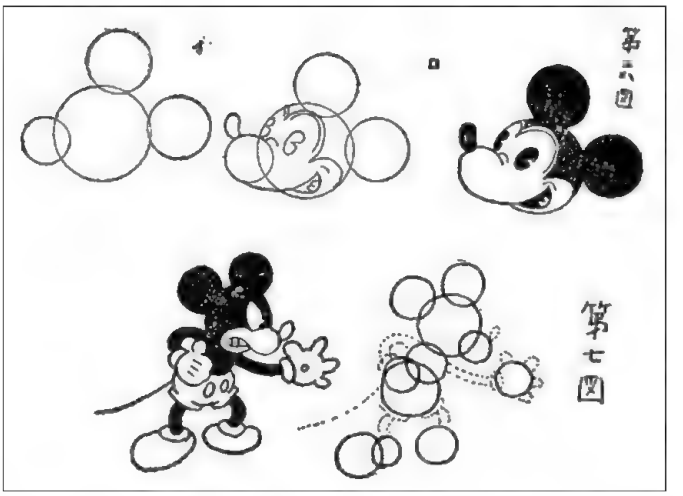


FIGURE 12. Ōfuji Noburo, "Manga no kakikata" from *Patēshine*, May 1937.

FIGURE 13. Hosokibara Seiki, *Nihon mangashi* (1924).

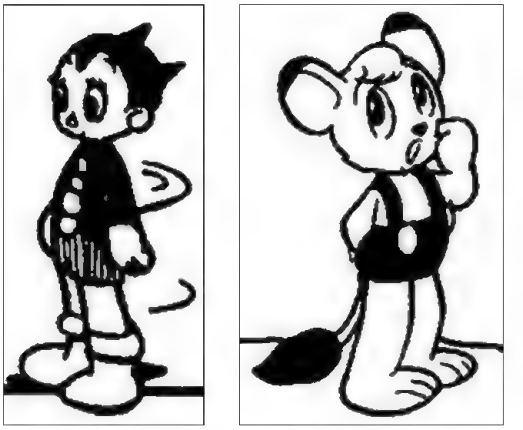


FIGURE 14. The two characters are Astro Boy by Tezuka Osamu (*Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū 21: Tetsuwan Atomu*, Kodansha, 1979) and Leo the Lion by Tezuka Osamu (*Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū 1: Jyanguru taitei 1*, Kodansha, 1977). Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

To return to my discussion, manga expression for Tagawa Suiho was indeed an extension of Taishō avant-garde expression. Yet because he was not much of a theorist, he didn't write much about his work. He has thus come to be seen as someone who abandoned the avant-garde art movement. If contemporary artists in Japan today feel uncomfortable about designating manga as art, it is because they remain ignorant of this history of manga expression as a direct heir to the avant-garde movement. What is more, it so happened that conventions for making such art in Japan came of an initial unification of Disney with the avant-garde art movement.

I would now like to discuss how the conventions for staging or presentation in manga and animation came about through a unification of Disney and Eisenstein. Let me begin with a look at traditional forms of Japanese art.

Figure 15 shows a scene from a twelfth-century picture scroll called *Banno dainagon ekotoba*. Such scenes were drawn and painted onto long scrolls to create a story. If we take seriously the claim of Studio Ghibli's Takahata Isao that the scenes of picture scrolls are like the panels of manga, we would come up with something like Figure 16. Takahata feels that techniques of staging in manga and animation are close to those of Japanese picture scrolls, and so, to make his argument clear, he transformed the picture-scroll presentation into a manga presentation.[3] Similarly, Figure 17 shows a scene from a picture scroll produced in the late twelfth century, *Shigisan-engi*. And in Figure 18, we see how my college students transposed it in the same manner as Takahata. These students, who are studying manga expression, were able, just like Takahata, to transpose the picture scroll into a manga panel layout. I did not offer them any concrete explanation of how Takahata had actually transposed a picture scroll into manga form. Yet they produced such a transposition without any particular trouble.

As we see in Figure 19, Japanese picture scrolls have a "base line" running through the middle of picture to provide a point of reference for viewing, allowing the viewer's eyes to shift back and forth from upper to lower halves, or to pause in places. It is, in fact, possible to transpose such a movement of the viewing position into the form of manga panels.

My discussion thus far will probably lead you to conclude that traditional arts are indeed the origin for Japanese manga and animation. Yet it is due to a completely new sensibility established during the Fifteen Year War that we are today able to look at traditional arts in light of developments in manga panel layout. Both Takahata and my students are faithful heirs to it. This very conceptual matrix was brought about through an Eisensteinification of manga and animation expression.

FIGURE 15. Bannō Dainagon Ekotoba (twelfth century).

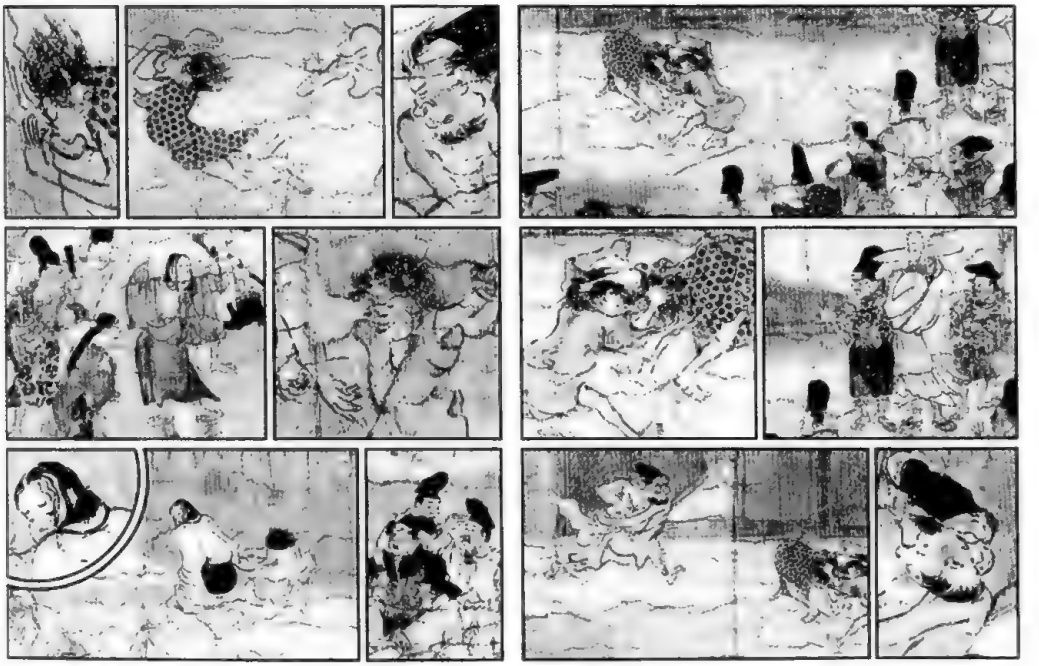


FIGURE 16. From Takahata Isao, *Jūni seki no animeeshon: kokuhō emakimono ni miru eigateki—animeteki naru mono* (Tokyo: Tokuma shoten, 1999).

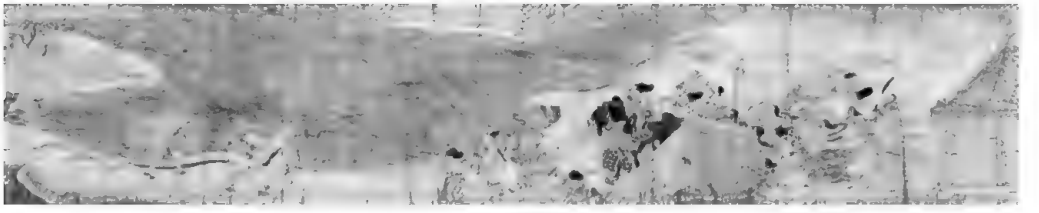


FIGURE 17. *Shigisan-engi* (twelfth century).

FIGURE 18. From practical exercises by students in Ōtsuka Eiji's research group at Kobe Design University (2011).

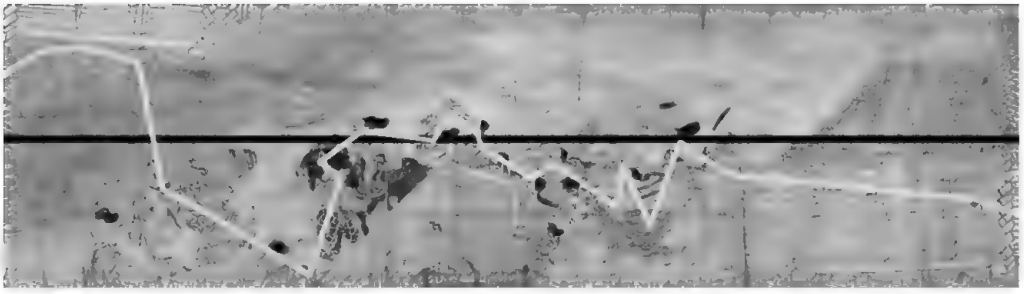


FIGURE 19. *Shigisan-engi* (twelfth century) with base line drawn.

Consequently, it is necessary for us to gain some understanding of the powerful impact of Eisenstein's montage theory in Japan between 1931 and 1945. Figure 20 shows but one of many of Japanese translations of Eisenstein and Soviet film theory. *The General Line* (aka *Old and New,* 1929, dir. Sergei Eisenstein) was released in Japan in 1931, but Eisenstein's other films were not released until after World War II. In contrast, his montage theory was widely translated and introduced. The following episode gives a better sense of the extent to which montage theory spread to the general public:

FIGURE 20. Sasaki Norio's translation of Sergei Eisenstein's *Eiga no benshōhō* (Dialectics of film) (Ōrisha, 1932).

> In Kinugasa Teinosuke's *Reimei izen* appears a title about consumer culture of the Edo period, and the film cuts between the courtesan en route, the lord's procession, and the temple ceremony. Someone in the audience called out, "Montage, that's montage," and signs of respect ran through everyone in the theater.[4]

Such a reaction on the part of mass film spectators indicates that montage theory was widely known. Actually, with the exception of Kinugawa Teinosuke, there were hardly any film people who learned film theory directly from the films of Eisenstein and the Soviets. They looked for Eisenstein-style montage in European films or, after a certain time, in those of Leni Riefenstahl. In other words, from the 1930s, both Eisenstein's film theory and Mickey animations were widely distributed in Japan, simultaneously.

Montage theory became widespread because young men saw it as a form of avant-garde theory, but there was also another reason. Eisenstein sought out montage within Japanese culture itself. For Eisenstein, all Japanese culture was montage. For instance, he wrote:

> Another remarkable characteristic of the Kabuki theater is the principle of "disintegrated" acting. [. . .] [The actor] performed his role in pieces of acting

completely detached from each other: Acting with only the right arm. Acting with one leg. Acting with the neck and head only.[5]

So it is that Eisenstein saw "montage" in the disintegrating acting of the kabuki actor. Chinese characters were also instances of montage for him:

> The point is that the copulation (perhaps we had better say, the combination) of two hieroglyphs of the simplest series is to be regarded not as their sum, but as their product [. . .] For example: the picture for water and the picture of an eye signifies "to weep"; the picture of an ear near the drawing of a door = "to listen" . . .[6]

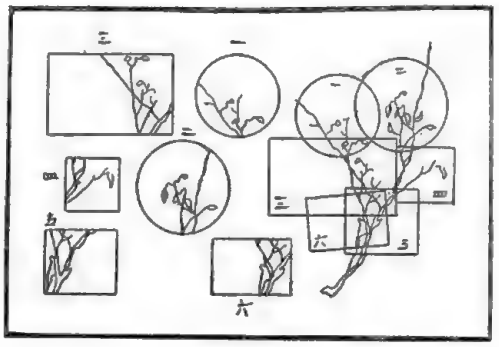
In Figure 21 appears the character that Eisenstein used in his explanation of montage. On the left side is what is called the "radical" for "water." On the right side is the character for "eye," which was originally a pictogram. A "montage" of the two characters results in the new character shown in Figure 21, which is read *rui* or *namida* in Japanese, that is, "tears" or "to weep."

BOTH EISENSTEIN'S FILM THEORY AND MICKEY ANIMATIONS WERE WIDELY DISTRIBUTED IN JAPAN, SIMULTANEOUSLY.

And in Figure 22 we see the practical diagrams Eisenstein used to demonstrate montage within Japanese painting. In other words, he insists that the Japanese method consists in using so-called cuts within a painting. Eisenstein tells us that the Japanese approach a single painting as constructed of parts, that is, as montage.

The Russian avant-garde in which Eisenstein took part also looked for "constructions" in the circus and other popular arts. For them, "constructions" became visible through forms of expression modeled on "primitive" culture or popular culture. Japanese culture was not especially singled out as the only instance of montage, and yet Eisenstein's account of montage in Japanese culture had a great impact in Japan. As a result, the Japanese of that era began to seize on just about anything as an instance of montage. Figure 23, for instance, shows graphic montage that combines photography and montage in a manner inspired by Soviet propaganda media. From a contemporary perspective, this looks rather like manga panels. Such a technique of treating a series of photographs as cuts within the image and conceptualizing a layout looks just like the method of presentation in contemporary manga. Such an example allows us to look at manga panels anew: both in terms of temporal order and spatial structure within the book, they now appear as montage.[7]

FIGURE 21. The character *rui* or *namida*.



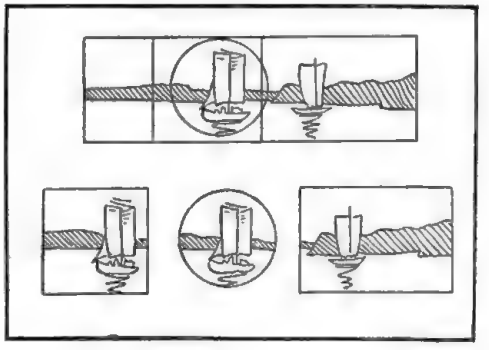


FIGURE 22. From Sasaki Norio's translation of Sergei Eisenstein's *Eiga no beshōhō* (Dialectics of film) (Ōrisha, 1932).

FIGURE 23. Senda Korenari and Horino Masao, "Fade in, Fade out," in *Hanzai kagaku*, April 1932.

TO THEIR CHAGRIN, POETS OF MARXIST PERSUASION ENDED UP WRITING SCRIPTS FOR CULTURE FILMS.

In sum, Eisenstein's theory of Japanese culture as montage seems ideally suited to a montage theory of picture scrolls. It was Okudaira Hideo who strongly promoted a montage theory of picture scrolls. But it was Imamura Taihei who subsequently gave it new life by extending it to animation. Imamura even insisted that the Japanese myths in the *Kojiki* were written in accordance with techniques of montage. Drawing on Eisenstein, Imamura and others insisted that picture scrolls had been constructed in accordance with cinematic techniques such as close-up shots and montage. In this way, the point of view allowing for the transposition of picture scrolls into manga panels took shape in 1930s Japan.

In this context, then, we must touch on the career of Imamura. Imamura wrote the first critiques of animation in Japan as well as critiques of documentary film. After the war, his criticism had a major impact on Takahata Isao of Studio Ghibli. Studio Ghibli recently republished Imamura's book, with a commentary by Takahata Isao.[8] Imamura's work is typical of film criticism of his era. Which is to say, he immersed himself in Marxism and avant-garde film theory, only to drop Marxism and readily "convert" to nationalism. After Imamura was arrested, he converted. After his release, another form became prevalent in Japan, after the Manchurian Incident of 1931—*bunka eiga* or "culture film," which comprised newsreels and educational films. In Japan of the 1930s and 1940s, documentary films were called "culture films" and were promoted as a part of national policy.

In sum, there were two developments. On the one hand, avant-garde artists absorbed Disney-style manga and animation, and on the other hand, in the wake of the conversion of young filmmakers, the culture film became widely accepted. Filmmakers began shooting documentary films to be used for national propaganda. Indeed, to their chagrin, poets of Marxist persuasion ended up writing scripts for culture films. Among the works of the poet Nakano Shigeharu after his conversion is "Kūsōka to shinario" (1939, The dreamer and the script). The story is that this left-wing poet, starved for work, was asked to write the script for a culture film. In fact, Oguma Hideo, who spoke critically of Nakano's conversion, wrote culture film–style manga conveying scientific pedagogy for children. Within literary history, Oguma is said to be a poet who stuck to his political convictions, but from the standpoint of manga history, he looks in fact like a creator of regulations for manga expression in line with the Ministry of the Internal Affairs.

Thus 1930s Japan saw the emergence of national policy for film and other forms of expression, that is, national propaganda. It is not so surprising

IF JAPAN DOES NOT HAVE ANIMATION ON PAR WITH DISNEY, COLONIAL RULE AND PROPAGANDA WILL FAIL.

that Eisenstein and Soviet avant-garde art remained popular. Eisenstein's films, the Russian avant-garde, and social realism were from the outset tools for Soviet propaganda. In Germany, when Joseph Goebbels put pressure on Lang to produce films for Hitler, he presented Eisenstein as a fine example. It is undeniable that Eisenstein's techniques and aesthetics were brilliant as tools for propaganda.

In 1930s Japan, a large number of popular dramatic films were made with military motifs, but not due to governmental pressure; audiences clamored for them, and so the studios went on making them. Non-entertainment documentary films, however, were made under government leadership. The idea that documentary film was a newer art and a loftier one entered the world of Japanese cinema centered on young men who had converted from Marxism. Japan, inspired by Germany, established a Film Law in 1939. Those involved in filmmaking welcomed it, taking it as government recognition of cinema. This Film Law practically mandated screenings of culture films.

As for Imamura, he readily abandoned Marxism but had no intention of abandoning Disney and film theory. Imamura does not give the impression of being a fascist, or a Marxist, or even a patriot. His love was for Disney and film theory. Just before the outbreak of the Pacific War, Imamura published a book called *Manga eiga ron* (A theory of cartoon film). It was a theory of Disney, with the character Mickey drawn on the title page (Figure 24). This book remained in print throughout the war. With the outbreak of the war with the United States, American films, American culture, and English were outlawed in Japan. Yet Imamura continued to write about Disney.

This may explain why the Naval Department ordered the production of animated films in the Disney style. Statements by Imamura like the following may indeed have had an effect:

> The prior superiority of Disney cartoons as art lay in their superiority as weapons for propaganda warfare. In them we can see how fine art may play a powerful role in enlightening the public. If we are unable to produce cartoons like those of Disney, we will be overpowered.[9]

Imamura threatens the military, saying that, if Japan does not have animation on par with Disney, colonial rule and propaganda will fail. He even refers to animation as a "weapon." And so the Naval Department, which was far weaker in propaganda than the Army, decided to support animation. Japan

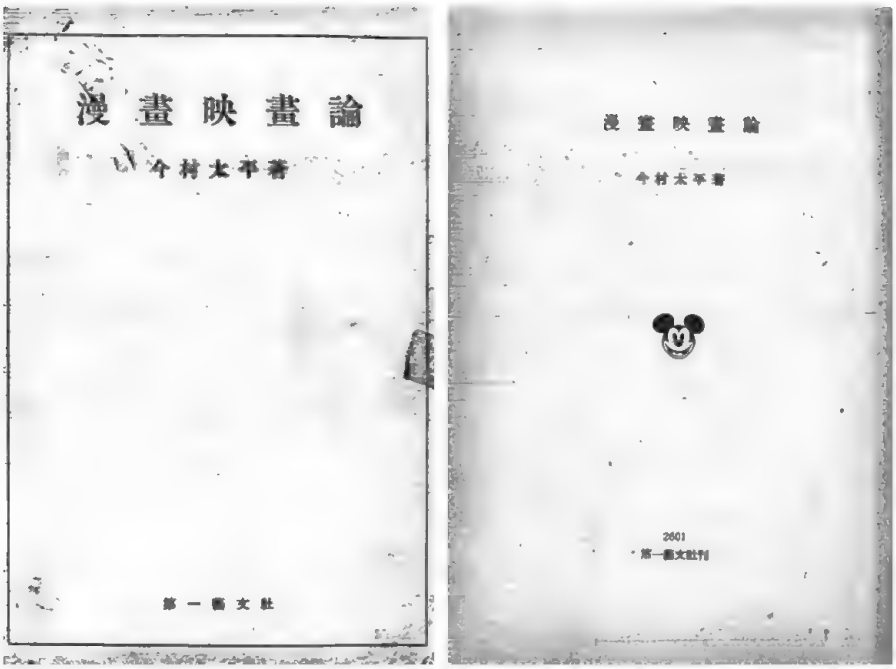


FIGURE 24. Imamura Taihei, *Manga eiga ron* (Daiichi bungeisha, 1941).

by that time was already supporting the special domain of culture films by government fiat. The Navy lent its support to the production of animation as "culture film," that is, as documentary-style propaganda film. This is how it became possible to produce animation using Disney techniques in accordance with Eisenstein's theory.

Let's look at attitudes toward Disney in other countries during World War II. There is some evidence that, even though Disney animation was banned in Germany, Goebbels secretly imported Disney animation to watch. In the Soviet Union, Stalin ordered copying the Disney system of cooperative production, which imitated agricultural cooperatives. Yet these men did not introduce Disney aesthetics into their national animation.

Japan, however, strived to produce Disney-style animation with Eisenstein-style aesthetics. (As I mentioned previously, because Eisenstein's films were not shown in Japan, the point of reference by default was Lang, whose films anticipated in Nazi Germany the role of Eisenstein, as well as Leni Riefenstahl, who took on the position offered to Lang, directing such films as *Olympia* and *Triumph of the Will.*) Thus a feature-length animated film, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* (1945, Momotaro: Divine warriors of the sea), was produced under the direction of the Naval Department.

This film recreated in animation the invasion of Dutch-controlled Indonesia by Navy paratroopers in 1942. It might be called a documentary film in animation. It follows the process of the operation for invasion, rather than telling a story. The military operations of these paratroopers also provided material for propaganda art centered on the war, called "war pictures." Let us look more closely at the aesthetic features of *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei.*

First, there is the coexistence of Disney characters and realism. Characters are drawn as anthropomorphic animals in the Disney manner, while weaponry such as military machinery is drawn realistically (Figure 26) in contrast to the caricaturized "weaponry" found in Disney. Such a coexistence of animation-style characters and realistic weaponry is a characteristic feature of Japanese animation such as Gainax's *Neon Genesis Evangelion.* I have no particular objection to the coexistence of realistically drawn weaponry with nonrealistic animation characters but simply wish to call attention to this aesthetic lineage.

FIGURE 25. Screengrab from Seo Mitsuyo's *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* (1945).

Second, there is the aesthetics of cinematic composition. From cut to cut, elements related to the camera lens—camera position and camera angle as well as depth and shading—are clearly distinguished. Low angle shots of characters are a prime example. Shooting anonymous soldiers and persons from an extremely low angle is a technique common in Eisenstein's films, Rodchenko's photos, and Riefenstahl's films (Figure 27). A large number of high angle shots is equally common. Composition with high angles was so commonplace that Mishima Yukio, who saw Riefenstahl's *Olympia* as a boy during the war, made mention of its aesthetics of high angles. The overall composition of screen space is dominated by sharp angles (Figure 28). In

FIGURE 26. Screengrab from Seo Mitsuyo's *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* (1945).

addition, in Eisenstein's films, objects in the foreground appear blurred, out of focus, which induces an awareness of the camera's presence (Figure 29). This imparts a sense of layers to the image. Compositions consisting of characters and background painted on separate layers were used frequently in *Taiyō no ōji Horusu* (1968, *Little Norse Prince*), directed by Takahata Isao, which may be considered the basis for the aesthetics of Studio Ghibli (Figure 31).

Sometimes this manner of organizing screen space is taken as a characteristic feature of Japanese animation. The Wachowski Brothers' *Speed Racer* (2008) is a live-action remake of Tastunoko Production's *Mahha GOGOGO* (1967–68, *Speed Racer*) using CGI, and in many scenes, they deliberately employ film techniques that separate the background into layers, surely because they take such Eisenstein-style techniques in Japanese anime to be characteristic features of Japanese animation.

Also in relation to cinematic composition, we see in *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* the use of camera work rather than movement as well as compositions with strong backlighting (Figure 32). Here we see the influence of impressionism and Eisenstein.

FIGURE 27. Screengrabs from Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph des Willens* (1935); Seo Mitsuyo's *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* (1945); Aleksander Rodchenko's "Pioneer Girl" (1930), and Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph des Willens* (1935).

FIGURE 28. Images from Aleksander Rodchenko's "Radio Station Tower," 1929; Seo Mitsuyo's *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* (1945); and Sergei Eisenstein's *Old and New* (1929).

FIGURE 29. Screengrab from Seo Mitsuyo's *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* (1945).

FIGURE 30. Screengrab from Sergei Eisenstein's *Old and New* (1929).

FIGURE 31. Screengrab from Takahata Isao's *Taiyō no ōji Horusu no daibōken* (1968).

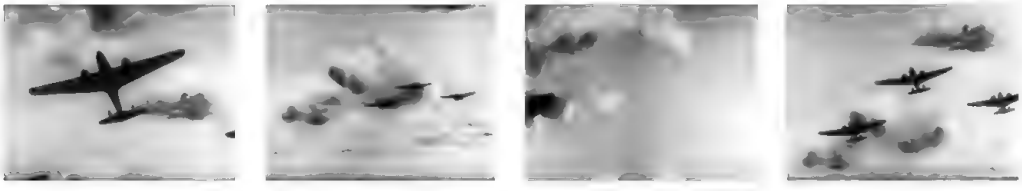


FIGURE 32. Screengrab from Seo Mitsuyo's *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* (1945).

Third, there is the creation of a single image through a montage of cinematic cuts. Exactly the same techniques of editing are used in "culture films" and documentary film to connect cuts into an image sequence. All Japanese culture became montage to the point where "Japanese" and montage became the same thing. I should mention in passing that the scene depicting the "labor" of the "collective" in *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* is similar to Eisenstein and Riefenstahl. Miyazaki Hayao is heir to this aesthetics of collective labor.

In sum, in its cinematic composition, camera work, and editing, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* shows affinity with the documentary style of culture films. The first feature-length animation in Japan was a "culture film" made in accordance with Eisenstein's film principles using Disneyified characters and animation techniques.

The film was completed in the spring of 1945. Japan soon lost control of Japanese airspace, and Tokyo and Osaka were subject to repeated aerial bombardments. Amid the ruins of the devastated city of Osaka, a boy went to see *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*. This is what he wrote in his journal:

> My first impression of the film was that it seemed to use elements of culture films, and even though called a war film, it had in fact taken on a peaceful form. [. . .]
>
> My next impression was that cartoons had been very beautifully cinematized. As in photography and film, things were depicted from every angle. The scene in which the monkey and dog leap into the river gorge looks so real. What is more, the storyline was clearer than anything before it; it was more like a documentary than a cartoon.[10]

The fifteen-year-old boy clearly indicates that, while this film was animation, it was a "culture film," shot through with documentary techniques and aesthetics. That boy was Tezuka Osamu, the very mangaka who is considered the origin of "postwar" Japanese manga.

Immediately after he saw *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei,* he drew a manga called *Shōri no hi made* (Until the day of victory) in his notebook to show to his friends. In a recently discovered incomplete draft of *Shōri no hi made,* the influence of *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* is evident in the style of cuts. Like *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei, Shōri no hi made* is without story. It is a propaganda manga, that is, a culture film–style manga, about the people's air defense system. Insofar as all of Tezuka's other works from the same time have stories, the absence of a story makes clear that he had *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* in mind. American animation characters play American soldiers, and Japanese

manga characters play Japanese roles. As is well known, Disney made propaganda animation, and Tezuka evidently understood such techniques of propaganda animation in "mobilizing" manga and anime characters. Note that animation-style characters coexist with realistic weaponry, and composition and camera angles are quite diverse (Figure 34). It would seem that, after seeing *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei,* Tezuka translated in manga the techniques of Disney-style cartoon characters and Eisenstein-style animation.

As mentioned previously, Tezuka experienced the Osaka air raids. In the air raids, strafing by the American military killed noncombatant civilians. Tezuka experienced all of this as a child. We see the effects of such experiences in the climactic scene of *Shōri no hi made* (Figure 35). Mickey, piloting a realistically drawn warplane, is firing on a youth resembling Tezuka (depicted with Mickey-style antirealist drawing techniques). The boy is struck in the chest, and blood gushes forth. The sequence of panels includes a series of different angles and short cuts. Historically speaking, such a sequence succeeds in bringing into manga expression the "unholy alliance of Disney and Eisenstein" that had been achieved in animation. The myth that cinematic techniques first appeared in *Shin Takarajima,* created by Tezuka with Sakai Shichima, is truly a thing of the past, but it is true that Tezuka brought "cinematic techniques"

FIGURE 33. Article on the recent discovery of pages from Tezuka Osamu's *Shōri no hi made* in *Mandarake zenbu* 51 (2011).

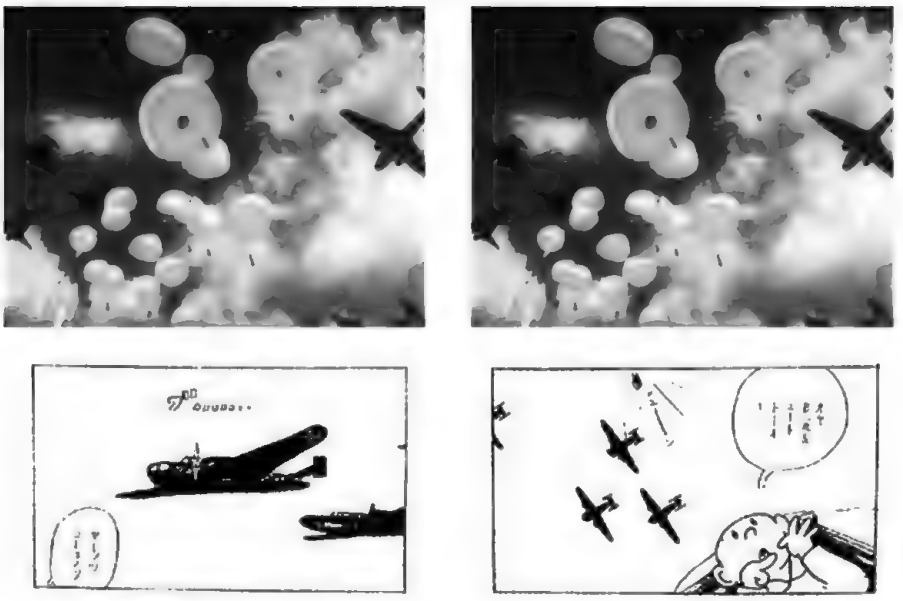


FIGURE 34. Screengrab from Seo Mitsuyo's *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* (1945) and panels from Tezuka Osamu's *Shōri no hi made* (1945; republished: Asahi shinbunsha, 1995). Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

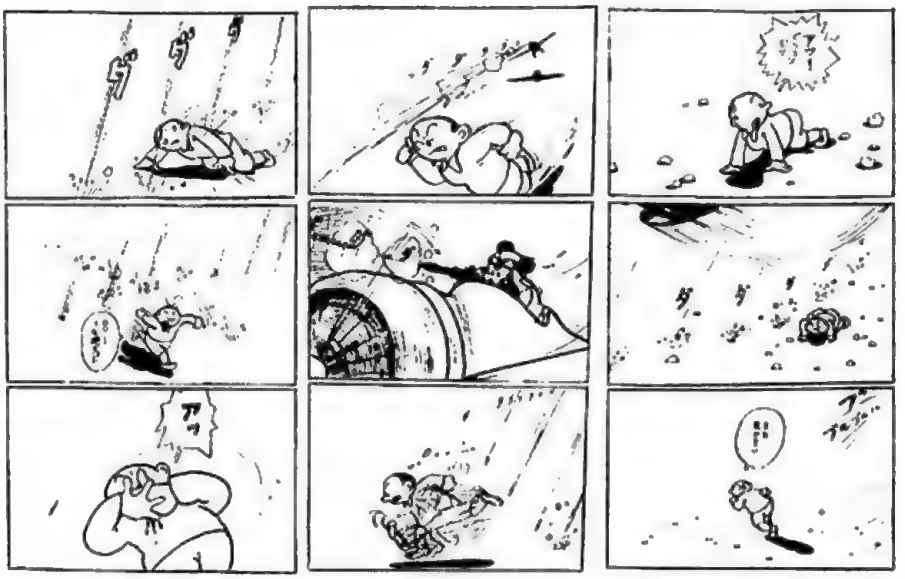


FIGURE 35. From Tezuka Osamu's *Shōri no hi made*. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

into postwar manga. The cinematic techniques, however, were those of wartime animation expression, and it happened in *Shōri no hi made* not *Shin Takarajima.*

In *Shōri no hi made,* Tezuka made another important contribution to manga expression, the "mortal body" or the "flesh-and-blood body."[11] Tezuka uses Disney-style drawing techniques to depict the youth who resembles him,[12] yet he endows his stand-in with a flesh-and-blood body: when Mickey shoots the youth, he starts to bleed. Disney-style iconography and Eisenstein-style realism are combined in this character's body, making for a new set of conventions. In imparting a flesh-and-blood body to a character deriving from the Disney style, Tezuka determines the nature of postwar manga.[13] It was then possible to stage situations for Japanese manga and animation characters that presuppose a body at once vital and mortal, capable of violence and sexuality. Contemporary forms of manga expression portraying sexual behavior of "nonexistent youth" are a result of such a development.[14]

By way of conclusion, I would like to give one example from Tezuka where the influence of Eisenstein is very clear. In later years, Tezuka wrote about his drawings as follows:

> Well, actually, I think of them rather like hieroglyphs. In my drawings, when someone's surprised, the eyes get round, and when someone's angry, like Hige-Oyaji-san, creases always appear around the eyes, and the face jumps about.
>
> There are these patterns, you see. Each is a sort of sign or icon [*kigo*]. When you bring together this pattern and that pattern and yet another pattern, there appears a sort of picture where it all holds together. There are hundreds of them running through my head, these patterns for combinations. But it isn't like fine art, I think of each one as a highly schematic sign.[15]

In manga studies today, there is a good deal of serious analysis of what Tezuka calls *kigo,* that is, "signs" or "icons," yet there is almost no interest in how Tezuka picks up on Eisenstein's montage theory of Japanese culture in explaining his drawing. Yet Tezuka may be understood as the historical inheritor of the unholy alliance of Disney and Eisenstein in that he evokes Eisenstein's montage theory in the context of his drawings based on Disney, which allows him to discuss them as "constructions."

Tezuka was from probably the last generation to be touched by wartime film theory. He developed techniques for "cinematic manga" in the postwar period on the basis of practical applications of theory. Indeed Tezuka worked

IT IS NEITHER JAPANESE TRADITIONS NOR POSTMODERNISM THAT WE MUST SEE IN JAPANESE MANGA AND ANIMATION, BUT RATHER THE GENESIS OF AN AESTHETICS FORMED UNDER FASCISM.

out exceedingly diverse forms of postwar manga expression on the basis of wartime film theory.

Within animation history, there is also an obvious connection between prewar film theory and Ghibli. To put it more precisely, it would seem that Ghibli continued to grapple with the spell of Eisenstein. An account of Ghibli based on this connection remains to be written.

In sum, while manga and anime were Disney-ified, they were also becoming cinematic. This happened under conditions that can only be described in terms of an unholy alliance of Disney and Eisenstein under conditions of fascism. That wartime aesthetics extends into contemporary manga and anime aesthetics. The creative style of contemporary Japanese manga and animation has changed considerably from Disney, but Mickey and Minnie are still there at the base, and techniques of staging or presentation are in the lineage of Eisenstein.

As such, it is neither Japanese traditions nor postmodernism that we must see in Japanese manga and animation, but rather the genesis of an aesthetics formed under fascism. Animators and animation theorists linked Disney and Eisenstein within a fascist system, arriving at a unified aesthetic. It is precisely this development that explains the international quality of Japanese manga and animation. A form of expression combining Disney and Eisenstein cannot but reach throughout the world.

Japanese have forgotten this history, however, and those outside Japan look for traditionalism or postmodernism in otaku culture, and none of them strive to see the true history of Japanese manga and animation. I leave to you the historical judgment of whether such a history of Japanese manga and animation should be appraised in terms of a miraculous encounter of Eisenstein and Disney or should be criticized as being after all nothing but a close relative of Leni Riefenstahl.

Notes

[This translation is based on the text for a keynote lecture given by Ōtsuka Eiji on Saturday, February 4, 2012, for a conference series entitled *Experiencing the Media Mix*, organized at Concordia University in Montreal by Matthew Penney, Bart Simon, and Marc Steinberg. Ōtsuka subsequently revised the lecture text for translation in this volume. Because the original text was designed for public presentation, I have made slight changes to the text with the permission of the author. Notes added to the translation by the translator are marked as such, while Ōtsuka's notes are unmarked. —Trans.]

1. [The article entitled "Otaku no kenkyū" (Otaku research) by Nakamori Akio, which is credited as the official debut of the term "otaku," was published in 1983 in the magazine *Manga Burikko*. —Trans.]

2. [Ōtsuka uses the term *shutsuen* to refer to the use of montage, camera angles, editing, and image composition. To capture his usage, I have rendered it consistently as "staging or presentation," but *shutsuen* has broader connotations of "stage direction" and even "acting," and in fact, the Japanese translations of Eisenstein excerpts use *shutsuen* in these senses. —Trans.]

3. [The book in question is Takahata Isao, *Jūni seki no animeeshon: kokuhō emakimono ni miru eigateki – animeteki naru mono* (Twelfth-century animation: Cinematic and animetic effects seen in our national treasure picture scrolls). (Tokyo: Tokuma shoten, 1999). —Trans.]

4. Tsuji Hisaichi, *"Dōsō no Pudokin," Eiga hyōron,* April 1938.

5. Sergei Eisenstein, "The Cinematographic Principle and the Ideogram," in *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory, and The Film Sense,* ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Meridian Books, 1949), 43.

6. Ibid., 31–32.

7. The cine-poem, with its style of arranging lines of poetry in the manner of cinematic cuts, is also part of this new mode.

8. [The new edition is Imamura Taihei, *Manga eiga ron* (Tokyo: Tokuma shoten, 2005). —Trans.]

9. Imamura Taihei, *Sensō to eiga* (War and cinema) (Tokyo: Geibunsha, 1942).

10. Tezuka Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu daisen 1* (Tokyo: Magajin hausu, 1992).

11. [A full explanation of this aspect of Tezuka appears in Ōtsuka Eiji, *Atomu meidai: Tezuka Osamu to sengo manga no shudai* (Astro Boy theses: On Tezuka Osamu and postwar manga) (Tokyo: Tokuma shoten, 2003). —Trans.]

12. In the postwar era, Tezuka drew upon Disney models again and again. Tezuka's work *Jyanguru taitei* (*Jungle Emperor* aka *Kimba the White Lion*) draws upon Disney's *Bambi.* But then Disney's *Lion King* is exactly like Tezuka's *Jyanguru taitei.* Such an original is already a matter of mutual imitation.

13. Tezuka also formed story manga by adding story qualities to the cinematic techniques he had previously developed. But that is beyond the scope of this discussion.

14. [The term "nonexistent youth" gained a certain degree of notoriety in 2010, for on February 24 of that year, there were proposals for a new bill that targeted "characters that were clearly defined as minors [*seishōnen,* that is, under 18]." The bill was rejected in June, but the term became more common in referring to underage manga and anime characters with connotations of sexual interaction with them. —Trans.]

15. Tezuka Osamu, "Interview with Tezuka Osamu: Coffee and tea until late at night . . ." org. and ed. Katsuki Chiseko 香月千成子, *Manga senmonshi Pafu* (October 1979).

PATRICK W. GALBRAITH

Osamu Moet Moso: Imagining Lines of Eroticism in Akihabara

September 18, 2010: the Tokyo Anime Center in Akihabara is hosting a pre-event for a new exhibition on Tezuka Osamu. I walk in expecting to see a tribute to the father of modern manga and anime, a man deified as a "god," but find instead Osamu Moet Moso (*Osamu moetto mosso*). The exhibition claims as its mission "to extract and embody Akiba-like elements contained in Tezuka Osamu's works."[1] This seems to mean extracting "*moe* elements," or those elements that trigger an affective response in fans, from Tezuka's characters and aligning them with popular manga, anime, and games in Akihabara, a hotspot of otaku consumption and culture.[2] Among those contributing illustrations to the exhibition are Itō Noizi, Kei and Yoshizaki Mine, known for their *bishōjo* (cute girl) characters.[3] In line with contemporary and local tastes—and despite the involvement of Tezuka Productions, a company entrusted with preserving the creator's legacy—many of the characters on display look more erotic than wholesome. I stop in front of a rendition of *Astro Boy,* noting that his red boots have been elongated to look almost like "knee socks."

This is unmistakably the work of Pop, whose focus on the thighs has been a trademark since his debut with *Moetan* (2003). Even a cursory examination

FIGURE 1. Tezuka Osamu's *Astro Boy* character illustrated by POP, famous for his work on *Moetan*.

of signage in Akihabara demonstrates wide support for Pop, but his sexualized girl characters have also drawn criticism from mainstream and global audiences. Nonetheless, one of his illustrations has made its way into the Tokyo Anime Center, a tourism hub and showcase for Japanese popular culture, in the form of Tezuka Osamu's most beloved character. A global icon has been redrawn in the style popular in Akihabara. But Osamu Moet Moso did not stop there. After the pre-event, it traveled to Marui One in Shinjuku, Printemps in Ginza, the Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum in Takarazuka and so on (Figure 2). The more it traveled, the more attention it gathered, connecting unlikely sites and audiences. Printings of Pop's Astro Boy were sold at both high art galleries and Comiket. Even as elements of Akihabara moved across Japan along

FIGURE 2. Pamphlet for Osamu Moet Moso exhibition at the Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum in Takarazuka in 2011. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

MEDIATED BY FAN ENGAGEMENTS, TEZUKA HAS GAINED A STRANGE SECOND LIFE, A LIFE AFTER "DEATH."

with the exhibition, Tezuka was connected ever more intimately to Akihabara as otaku saw elements of their favorite characters in his work. This exposure to an Astro Boy made strange disrupted assumptions about Tezuka and opened up new possibilities. In Osamu Moet Moso and Akihabara, one could comment that "Astro Boy is practically the original *moe*!"[4]

Akihabara is not the source of any specific mode of representation. Rather, in the 1970s and 1980s, otaku actively appropriated from mainstream manga and anime and formulated a style in fan works, niche magazines, and related markets. As these elements converge in Akihabara, it has become a frame for retrospectively recognizing stylistic antecedents in Tezuka. In this article, drawing on personal and published interviews, I reconstruct the discourse integrating Tezuka into the history of the "cute erotic" (*kawaii ero*) aesthetic in Japan. Philip Brophy states that the "hyper-*kawaii* face" of Japanese manga appears equally in "saccharine kiddie stories and extreme pornographic scenarios," but we must remember that this was not always the case. Contemporary historicizing of cute eroticism begins with people like Tezuka telling mature stories using manga forms (as opposed to *gekiga*), moves through the mainstreaming of shōjo manga in the 1970s, and ends with the rise of fans and artists responding to and appropriating Tezuka and shōjo manga characters.[5] Due to issues of space, and the theme of this issue of *Mechademia,* I will for the most part focus on Tezuka in this article and leave the discussion of shōjo manga for a later date.

Rather than evaluating the truth of claims about the history of cute eroticism, or offering competing ones, I follow the contours of the discourse and make Tezuka the subject of a master narrative. While aware of the long shadow that Tezuka casts over manga studies in Japan, what is going on in Osamu Moet Moso and Akihabara has little to do with hegemonic origin myths or approaches to "story manga." In fact, it is the inversion of expectations and the revival of Tezuka in the "post-Tezuka" or otaku world that is most intriguing. In Osamu Moet Moso, not only are characters made central but also artist and fan responses to them, irrespective of official narratives; in place of the master creator of meaning there are subcultural groups reading meanings into and out of his work. Mediated by fan engagements, Tezuka has gained a strange second life, a life after "death."[6] However, I am not content to just recite the history of cute eroticism. Rather, I propose an alternative understanding of "eroticism" in the works of Tezuka Osamu and conclude by suggesting some of the problems raised by connecting the past of manga and anime with the present of Akihabara.

SOWING THE SEEDS

It is not an exaggeration to say that there has been an explosion of conversation about the eroticism of Tezuka Osamu's works. In 2010, one of his daughters, Rumiko, selected two thousand pages of his manga demonstrating its eroticism and published them in two massive volumes.[7] At the same time, Tezuka was fascinated with round and cute characters, and he never abandoned them throughout his career.[8] Given his training as a doctor and experience making realistic medical drawings, it seems unlikely that Tezuka was unable to draw bodies that appeared to be physically mature, and yet he did not; perhaps fans demanded stylistic continuity, or perhaps he could be more productive keeping drawings simple, but in any case it is clear that Tezuka preferred the manga style to "*gekiga,*" which looks gritty, rough, and angular.[9] Tezuka used characters with round and cute designs to tell complex, psychological stories. As is often highlighted in introductions to his work, Tezuka's characters remain "cartoony" and "child-like" even when engaged in sexual or violent interactions.[10]

If Tezuka can be said to have introduced a "body" to iconic characters—or, as Ōtsuka Eiji puts it, taken "Mickey Mouse" characters and had them feel pain and die—then such a character "body" could also be sexual.[11] These characters, despite appearances, could sustain critical representation and were also open to "sexploitation."[12] Further, Itō Gō argues that in his story manga Tezuka developed iconic characters (or *kyara*) into full and realistic characters, obscuring the fact that they could only exist in the manga world, and even there they seemed to belong only partially in the narrative world and its reality. Moving the reader to laughter or tears using unrealistic character forms is for Itō the beginning of *moe,* which is to say affective responses to fictional characters in manga, anime, and games.[13]

In the late 2000s and early 2010s, it was possible to retrospectively see *moe* in some of Tezuka's earliest and most celebrated postwar works. For example, *Lost World* (1948, *Rosuto Waarudo "zenseiki"*) is a dark science-fiction narrative featuring cute animal characters, demonstrating Tezuka's eclectic influences. In one scene, a scientist uses plant matter to create two women, Ayame and Momoji. The scientist intends to sell the plant girls and gives them sexually attractive forms (just as on a meta level Tezuka sells his characters to the reader). Ayame and Momoji look like adult women but know nothing about the world, a combination of innocence and eroticism that Morikawa Ka'ichirō compares to contemporary *moe* characters.[14] Helen McCarthy, author of an extensive catalogue of Tezuka's art, supports Morikawa's argument.[15] Both

Morikawa and McCarthy zero in on a key scene where Ayame and a young male scientist named Shikishima Ken'ichi, left stranded on an alien planet, decide to live together as "brother and sister" (Figure 3). As McCarthy sees it, "this is essential *moe*—an innocent, literally budding, girl, a geeky young man with the heart of a hero and protective instincts to do any father proud, and a completely non-sexual relationship."[16] A pure relationship, but at the same time one cannot help but imagine sex, given that Tezuka draws Ayame embracing Shikishima half-naked.

As he struggled to express himself, Tezuka often pushed the limits of manga. His early corpus is filled with content that might be considered "unsuitable" for young readers.[17] Not only was his early manga produced by small publishers without much regulation, but it also reflected the interests of a cultured, sensitive young man. Natsume Fusanosuke describes Tezuka as follows: "Even though this young man of eighteen says he's drawing it all for children, he is in fact drawing what he wants. He's drawing exactly what he wants to see drawn, what he longs for."[18] While Natsume is referring to Tezuka's desire for compelling and complex stories, culled from his exposure to literature, theater, and film, we could say the same thing about characters: Tezuka drew

FIGURE 3. Scene from Tezuka Osamu *Lost World* (1948), where Ayame, a plant girl, becomes a young scientist's "sister" and "queen." Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

what he longed for. This is not to say that he secretly desired a plant girl to be his sister—and Eve to his Adam on the *Lost World*—but rather that it is unsurprising that an adult man drew attractive adult women. At the same time, because Tezuka and his manga were considered to be "for kids," a perception that perhaps his style reinforced, he ran afoul of parents and teachers as he gained popularity and his widely circulated works were integrated into the mainstream industry.

AFTER A "DARK PERIOD" IN THE 1960S OF COMPETITION FROM *GEKIGA* ARTISTS AND CRITICISM FROM FANS, TEZUKA WAS ABLE TO REFLECT MORE OPENLY ON SEX IN THE 1970S.

After a "dark period" in the 1960s of competition from *gekiga* artists and criticism from fans, Tezuka was able to reflect more openly on sex in the 1970s.[19] His works from this period range from serious to comical, from *Apollo's Song* (1970, *Aporo no uta*), a psychological exploration of sexual repression and violence, to *Yaketpachi's Maria* (1970, *Yakeppachi no Maria*), the story of a doll possessed by the ectoplasm of a sexually frustrated schoolboy who helps him cope with adolescence. Again, not everyone liked this streak in Tezuka—an issue of *Shōnen Champion* carrying *Yaketpachi's Maria* was declared harmful to children by a state welfare body—but later hits such as *The Three-Eyed One* (1974–78, *Mittsume ga tōru*) and *Don Dracula* (1979, *Don Dorakyura*) seem to have assisted in the spread in manga of "comical eroticism."[20] Another example of Tezuka's work from the 1970s is *Marvelous Melmo* (1971–72, *Fushigina Merumo*), which tells the story of a young girl who takes pills and transforms into an adult woman—with the small caveat that her clothes are still child-sized. Her breasts practically burst from her blouse and any movement reveals her panties under a too-short skirt. In 2008, a set of pricey (¥7350) Melmo figures designed by Yoshizaki Mine went on sale at the Tokyo Anime Center, placing the character in Akihabara and alongside contemporary examples of transforming girls and fan service (Figure 4). Whatever Tezuka's intentions might have been, some might agree with Osamu Moet Moso and see in his characters "Akiba-like elements" ripe for extraction.

Scholars in Japan are increasingly speculating on the impact of exposure at a young age to attractive manga and anime characters. In his seminal book *Beautiful Fighting Girl,* Saitō Tamaki describes desire for fictional characters as "trauma," which results in repetition of the encounter and reproduction of the character.[21] Due to the wide reach and advanced content of manga and anime, inspired by and building on Tezuka's postwar works, Saitō argues that many Japanese have experienced this "trauma." Perhaps this is what Morikawa means when he says that the depiction of Ayame in the climactic

FIGURE 4. Figurine of the title character of Tezuka Osamu's *Marvelous Melmo* (1971–72) sold at the Tokyo Anime Center in Akihabara. Photograph by Adrian Lozano. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

scene in *Lost World* deeply impacted young boys who went on to become manga fans and artists. Certainly Tezuka did not mean to inspire the evolution of ever more erotic, enticing, and exciting character forms, but he "planted the seed," as Morikawa puts it, that would blossom into "*moe* culture."[22] In a personal interview, Honda Tōru echoes this sentiment:

> I think that we can blame Tezuka Osamu for *moe* culture . . . For kids of all backgrounds, manga and anime are a part of growing up. You get used to seeing cute characters. Many people learn to draw them. The presence of these characters and attention paid to them is unique. Nowhere in the world are there cuter characters in greater numbers than in Japan.[23]

The message seems to be that because manga and anime characters are part of everyday life and growing up, attachment to and arousal by them becomes "natural." Note that Honda mentions the "attention paid to" characters, which highlights the phenomenon of "affective attunement," as Thomas Lamarre puts it.[24] Honda is suggesting a "unique" level of attunement to characters in Japan, an attraction to and participation in their movements, which is to say *moe* culture. This comes out of and contributes to a line drawing culture—and to desire operating *at the level of the line.* In a personal interview, Itō Gō describes *moe* as the "pleasure of lines" (*byōsen ni yoru kairaku*), which he associated with the round shapes of Tezuka's early work.[25] As Itō sees it, this pleasure was suppressed by the popularity of *gekiga* but returned at the end of the 1970s in fan works featuring *bishōjo.* However, we should note that there was already an alternative to *gekiga* in the form of shōjo manga (soft lines, round faces, dramatic eyes) and that sex involving the "unrealistic" characters of *shōnen ai* (boys' love) was a huge inspiration for the cute eroticism that emerged in subcultural circles.[26]

A LINE(AGE) OF EROTICISM

To understand the role of fans in imagining cute eroticism with and through Tezuka (and shōjo manga), I want to zero in on Azuma Hideo. Although Azuma received highest honors at the Japan Media Arts Awards in 2005 and the Tezuka Osamu Cultural Prize in 2006, he is considered to be a key figure in otaku culture for his role in developing *bishōjo* characters in niche (sci-fi and pornography) magazines and *dōjinshi* (material published outside official channels). What is perhaps even more interesting than an artist associated with subculture being rehabilitated by gatekeepers of national culture is that Azuma Hideo was seen as a descendent of Tezuka Osamu. In 2011, even as Osamu Moet Moso continued its travels around Japan, Tezuka Osamu was reinserted into the history of cute eroticism in exhibitions on Azuma Hideo held at the Yoshihiro Yonezawa Memorial Library of Manga and Subculture and Meiji University, a series of lectures and talk events and a book.[27] In print and in person, Azuma Hideo, referred to as the "creator of 'cute eroticism'" (*"kawaii ero" no sōzōsha*), regularly expressed his admiration for Tezuka, whom he counted among his biggest inspirations.

In the 1970s, Azuma articulated the *bishōjo* form, which functioned something like the *bishōnen* (beautiful boys) popular among girls and women at the time. Uninterested in erotic *gekiga* and photographs of nude girls, he drew on the "unreality" of shōjo manga. By his own estimation, he accomplished this by attaching shōjo manga faces to Tezuka-style character bodies.[28] In comparison to erotic *gekiga*, Sasakibara Gō notes a shift in emphasis from "erotic manga bodies" to "romantic manga faces."[29] As Sasakibara sees it, it was necessary to deemphasize the body, at least in the beginning, in order to focus on the inner life, moods, and emotions of characters as accessed through their faces. Fans were affectively attuned to characters, involved in their movement, and moved by them, which seems to be related to what is now called *moe*. Like the characters in shōjo manga, Azuma's *bishōjo* often return the gaze of the viewer, a tendency that is especially pronounced in single illustrations, implicating the viewer in the world, drawing him or her in, and inviting more intimate engagements.

Azuma's major point of departure from Tezuka is his awareness of the eroticism of the cute character form. For him, characters are not "signs" (*kigō*) to tell a story; the entire point is the pleasure of drawing a form that excites him and others.[30] This attraction to the fictional character's "body" and bodily response to it might be seen as a critical turning point in the history of cute eroticism.

FIGURE 5. Illustration of a *bishōjo* character by Azuma Hideo. The artist recalls that he simply put a shōjo manga face onto a Tezuka-style character body.

But it was not until the late 1970s that the sexuality of *bishōjo* was explored in any real way. The 1970s were a revolutionary decade for shōjo manga, with *shōnen ai,* becoming more visible and girls and women producing "*yaoi,*" or a genre of "parody" *dōjinshi* featuring imagined sexual encounters between male characters from commercial manga and anime. In retrospect, the entrance of men into manga subculture seems almost reactionary.[31] Azuma recalls feeling alienated because fan events and markets were dominated by girls and women, while men and their interests were underrepresented.[32] Collaborator Oki Yukao says that he thought that if female fan artists could get away with producing *yaoi* then maybe there was room for men to experiment as well.[33] This resulted in "*lolicon,*" which started out as a genre of parody *dōjinshi* centered on uncovering the transgressive sexuality of cute, iconic girl characters. In 1979, Azuma and Oki, along with a handful of others, together produced *Cybele,* often cited as the spark that set off the "*lolicon* boom" in Japan in the early 1980s.[34]

Sasakibara notes that *Cybele* marked a decisive "change in values" (*kachi tenkan*) in erotic imagery.[35] Azuma and his circle had spoken the unspeakable, responding to and foregrounding the sexuality of cute, iconic characters that were desired despite their "unreality," or precisely because of it. His style drew from characters seen in works for children (Tezuka) and girls (shōjo manga), which few would have openly admitted to finding sexually attractive before. Because this was considered so radical, those attracted to *bishōjo* and *lolicon* were said to have a "disease" (*byōki*), written in *katakana* and used as a form of self-parody among fans themselves. Others were more serious: Takekuma Kentarō recalls being appalled by people who were truly aroused by fictional characters, and Nakamori Akio reserved a special contempt for *bishōjo* and *lolicon* fans in his articles on otaku.[36]

There is much more to say about the connection between *bishōjo* and otaku, and about men imitating the style of girls and women and women producing erotic works for men, but for the purposes of this article I will stop at showing how Tezuka Osamu has been reimagined as part of this history of cute eroticism.[37] In an essay published as part of the tribute to Azuma Hideo, Tezuka Osamu's son, Macoto (also known as Makoto), praises the "subculture pioneer" as one of the "legitimate successors" (*seitōtekina kōkeisha*) of his father.[38] Of course, Tezuka Osamu had been described this way before, even tied explicitly to the *lolicon* style in fan and academic discussions, but never by someone so close to him.[39] Whatever we might say about the truth of this, we are in a moment when it is possible to talk about Tezuka Osamu and his legacy in this way. Given this reframing, it may seem that *bishōjo* and *lolicon* artists and fans were not radical at all; they shared and expanded on Tezuka's own preference for round and cute characters.[40] In this version of history, those experimenting with *bishōjo* in the late 1970s and early 1980s, those who would come to be called otaku, are the "legitimate successors" of Tezuka.

THE EROTICISM OF LINES

Rather than stopping at an imagined stylistic lineage, I would like to offer an alternative approach to eroticism in manga and anime, one that disrupts the discourse taking place around Tezuka and accounts for his own thoughts. A good place to start is *Save Our Mother Earth* (1996, *Garasu no chikyū wo sukue*), a book that Tezuka was in the process of writing at the time of his death in 1989. Fragmented and raw, the prose is in many ways more lucid than if the work had been finished, edited, and polished. Though the book is ostensibly about nature, Tezuka also writes about "eroticism" (*erochishizumu*), which he relates to "movement" (*ugoki*) and the "power of life" (*seimeiryoku*):

> I feel eroticism in anything that moves, in things with movement . . . The other way around, I hate things that are still . . . Take a shape, for example when a cloud changes from one shape to another, the process of that change is seductive. It's no good when the shape is fixed . . . If I have to say why I feel eroticism, it's because I feel the power of life there.[41]

Tezuka continues, feverish, connecting the pleasure of viewing movement to having sex (*seikōi*). Frankly, he does not care if the body in motion is male or female (*danjo wo towazu*), or even if it is human. Tezuka provocatively declares

that he "started anime in pursuit of the eroticism of movement" (*ugoki no iroppposa wo tsuikyūsuru tame ni anime wo hajimeta*).[42] That Tezuka speaks of the moving image in these terms seems to anticipate young men today who are attracted to and deeply affected by manga and anime characters. One might say that they are responding to the eroticism that Tezuka himself recognizes and seeks to reproduce in his works.

But what exactly does "eroticism" mean in this context? What was it about the animated form that so aroused Tezuka? He highlights transformation, a concept that requires a little unpacking.[43] Greg Lynn writes that "animation implies the evolution of a form and its shaping forces: it suggests animalism, animism, growth, actuation, vitality and virtuality."[44] Similarly, for Elena del Rio, "'Animation' begins from the premise that the body is never a fixed or unified entity, but, instead, an open and unstable whole."[45] "Animation," then, is an ongoing and open-ended process of what Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari call "becoming." In their discussion of the disorganized and transforming body, Deleuze and Guattari, like Tezuka, draw attention to the "power of life."[46] Lamarre also notes how manga and anime allow for a "new experience of life."[47]

There is a power of life in the moving and transforming image, which relates to the attractive force of characters. Consider Tezuka's rabbit character, Mimio, who appears in works such as *Lost World* and *The Mysterious Underground Man* (1948, *Chiteikoku no kaijin*). Tezuka is quoted as saying, "I had a strong attachment to the rabbit character so I wanted to draw him over and over again."[48] This repetition resembles the "trauma" that Saitō talks about, not necessarily based on sexual arousal but rather being moved by the image. Especially in *The Mysterious Underground Man,* Mimio is a "proto-character," or a character body that is not entirely organized and contained in the narrative world or its reality.[49] Mimio is singled out as unnatural and called a "rabbit *obake*" or "manga *obake*." We might translate *obake* as "monster," noting that in Japanese it implies transformation. Indeed, throughout the story Mimio changes from boy to girl, human to animal, child to adult. This monstrous aspect of Mimio seems to be one of the reasons Tezuka liked him/her/it. An intimate relationship with the nonhuman is a recurrent theme in Tezuka's works, just as his whole life he intimately interacted with the nonhuman bodies of manga and anime characters, which conjure forth "strange new desires."[50] Considering these desires seems key to understanding more widespread and intimate relations with the moving image among manga and anime fans today.[51]

The point here is not to trace the origin of everything to Tezuka.[52] I do not

mean to establish an unbroken line of *moe* characters running from Tezuka to Akihabara—Mimio the rabbit to bunny girls—though this is effectively what was done at the Azuma Hideo exhibitions. (The subcultural creator served as a bridge between Tezuka and Akihabara, negotiating connections between the past and present.) I have offered an alternative approach to "eroticism," or the pleasure of movement and transformation, in manga and anime precisely because I do not think that noting stylistic similarities is necessarily helpful. Reading *moe* into Tezuka allows us to imagine precursors to the contemporary, but we run the risk of merely participating in the extraction of elements from his work, a process of "making sense selectively *out of* the past."[53] I have tried to show how various interested parties are appropriating Tezuka, but none of this establishes the creator or his works as more or less important. There are, however, larger stakes to reimagining Tezuka and the history of manga and anime in Akihabara.

CONCLUSION

Whatever its intentions, Osamu Moet Moso seems to suggest the eroticism of the God of Manga's works and connect it to contemporary Akihabara. If Tezuka had lived into the 1990s, I do not doubt that he would have produced popular manga and anime; his competitive spirit meant that he worked in nearly every genre, pioneering some and transforming others. His final message on the eroticism of the moving image in *Save Our Mother Earth* might seem like a manifesto for *moe*; even as the book was in circulation, a word that emerged in fan discussions to name affective responses to manga and anime characters.[54] However, the fact of the matter is that few in the otaku community received Tezuka's message in the 1990s.[55] Indeed, it was nearly impossible at the time to imagine a dialogue between Tezuka and otaku, whose trajectories could not have been more different: 1989 saw the death of a "god" and the arrest of a "folk devil," leading to the lionization of Tezuka and the demonization of otaku.[56] More than twenty years later, Tezuka's fit into the otaku scene and Akihabara vis-à-vis Osamu Moet Moso is at best an uncomfortable one.

Although the exhibition received quite a bit of attention inside and outside Japan, one has to wonder whose interests were served by Osamu Moet Moso. What does it mean to revive Tezuka in Akihabara for an otaku audience and to introduce otaku taste through Tezuka to a broader and more diverse audience? Is an artist like Pop somehow legitimated by working with Tezuka's characters? Or, conversely, does this reframe Tezuka and retrospectively

reorganize history—Astro Boy as the "origin" of *moe* and otaku as the "legitimate successors" of Tezuka? This last point is worth stressing. When we place Tezuka Osamu, and others such as Miyazaki Hayao, into a genealogy of cute eroticism (or *bishōjo* or *lolicon*) in manga and anime, we call into question their acceptability as representative creators of purified Japanese contents.[57] In a more immediate way, Pop's rendition of Tezuka's most famous character, which circulated widely around the world (via the Internet), is not really part of "cool Japan"—and indeed might impede the smooth flow of content. A *moe*-fied Astro Boy has the capacity to repulse as powerfully as it attracts.

Osamu Moet Moso put the eroticism of cute, young-looking manga and anime characters on display at a time when Japan is increasingly under pressure to curb the production and distribution of "virtual child pornography." The exhibition took place alongside public debates over the appropriateness of manga and anime expression and its impact on the social and sexual development of children.[58] Between 2010 and 2012, it returned multiple times to Akihabara, the site of much anxiety about otaku and "Japanese" popular culture, including the impression tourists might have of prevalent images of *bishōjo*.[59] Despite all this, few people I spoke with at Osamu Moet Moso over the years were interested in connecting it to the events taking place around it. For my part, I could not help doing so. If the exhibition was an invitation to reimagine Tezuka and the history of manga and anime, then it can be a chance to reflect on the context and consequences of reimagining. The space opened by Osamu Moet Moso in Akihabara is as political as it is problematic. We cannot afford to ignore such contested terrains in contemporary Japan where new meanings are negotiated.

Notes

1. According to the official website. See http://tezukaosamu.net/en/news/?p=2503.

2. Azuma Hiroki, *Otaku: Japan's Database Animals*, trans. Jonathan E. Abel and Shion Kono (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Patrick W. Galbraith, "Akihabara: Conditioning a Public 'Otaku' Image," in *Mechademia* 5 (2010): 210–30. Note that Osamu Moet Moso does not use the term "*moe*" in its title or promotional literature. "Moet" (moetto) sounds slightly foreign, as does "Moso" (mosso), though it is clear that the meaning of the latter is "to fantasize" (mōsō suru) with or "have a wild idea" about the works of Tezuka Osamu. In this context, the resemblance between Moet and *moe* is hard to miss, but it is interesting that the organizers branded their event with a word that might evoke associations with *moe* in Akihabara but can always claim to be otherwise.

3. For a roster of the twenty-six artists involved, see http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osamu_moet_moso.

4. This quotation comes from http://astroboyworld.blogspot.com/2010/09/tezuka-moe-gallery.html. Like many in Japan and around the world, Osamu Moet Moso provided me with an occasion to see Tezuka in a new light. Looking at Pop's illustration, I recalled reading about an interview where Tezuka said that Astro Boy was originally meant to be a "beautiful female android" and a newspaper article describing Astro Boy as "attractive and androgynous" (Frederik L. Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, and the Manga/Anime Revolution* [Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2007], 51, viii). Sakurai Tetsuo takes this even further, arguing, "Astro Boy was originally envisioned as a girl robot, but he was redesigned as a male robot, so it could be assumed that Astro Boy is not really a boy but a hermaphrodite or of a third sex" (Sakurai Tetsuo, "Tezuka—An Artist Who Confronted His Era," trans. Philip Brophy, in *Tezuka: The Marvel of Manga,* ed. Philip Brophy [Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2006], 72).

5. Philip Brophy, "Tezuka's *Gekiga*: Behind the Mask of Manga," in *Tezuka: The Marvel of Manga,* ed. Philip Brophy, 123.

6. Itō Gō, *Tezuka izu deddo: Hirakareta manga hyōgenron he* (Tezuka is dead: Toward an expanded discourse on manga expression) (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2005).

7. Tezuka Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu erosu 1,000-peeji* (1,000 pages of eroticism by Tezuka Osamu), ed. Tezuka Rumiko, 2 vols. (Tokyo: INFAS Publications, 2010).

8. Takeuchi Ichiro, "Tezuka and the Origin of Story *Manga,*" in *Tezuka: The Marvel of Manga,* ed. Philip Brophy, 91.

9. Natsu Onoda Power, *God of Comics: Osamu Tezuka and the Creation of Post–World War II Manga* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), 97. Because Tezuka used a "star system," each of his characters had a very specific personality that readers grew up with, anticipated, and loved. Fans consistently responded negatively to darker "roles," for example Rock in Alabaster (Helen McCarthy, *The Art of Osamu Tezuka: God of Manga* [New York: Abrams ComicArts, 2009], 186) and Astro Boy in the "Blue Knight" story (Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays,* 123). Tezuka killed off characters and invented new ones to pursue mature themes but faced resistance to changes in old characters and apathy to new ones.

10. Bill Randall, "Behold Japan's 'God of Manga,'" *The Comics Journal Special Edition* 5 (2005). In a personal interview (February 26, 2010), Saitō Tamaki stressed the difference between Japanese and American comics and cartoons, contrasting Tezuka and his "sexualized," "young-looking" characters with Disney and his "sanitized," "mature-looking" characters.

11. Ōtsuka Eiji, "Disarming Atom: Tezuka Osamu's Manga at War and Peace," trans. Thomas Lamarre, *Mechademia* 3 (2008): 111–25. In fact, Ōtsuka anticipates this point: "In this system of representation, I detect a symbolic turning point in the history of manga in terms of how it will depict 'life' and 'death' and 'sex'—the inevitable mortality of the living body appears at fundamental odds with Disney-esque antirealism. This is how postwar manga could, on the one hand, internalize the topics of life and death in a 'literary' manner and, on the other hand, move in the direction of pornography associated with the *moe* style of anime drawing" (121–22). However, I would like to mention that "*moe* characters" tend to be desired precisely because of their fictionality, not for the realism of the character body and its "natural" sexuality (Patrick W. Galbraith, "*Lolicon*: The Reality of 'Virtual Child Pornography' in Japan," *Image [&] Narrative* 12, no. 1 (2011), http://www.imageandnarrative.be/index.php/imagenarrative/article/view/127/98).

12. Ōtsuka Eiji, *Sabukaruchaa hansenron* (On antiwar subculture) (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2003).

13. Itō, *Tezuka izu deddo,* 136.

14. Morikawa Ka'ichirō, "Bishōjo hyōgen no hattatsushi" (The development of nymphettish design in otaku culture), lecture at the Yoshihiro Yonezawa Memorial Library of Manga and Subcultures, Meiji University, Tokyo, March 19, 2011.

15. Helen McCarthy, "And Tezuka Created Moe . . . ," A Face Made For Radio: Helen McCarthy's Blog, July 24, 2009, http://helenmccarthy.wordpress.com/2009/07/24/and-tezuka-created-moe/.

16. Ibid.

17. McCarthy, *The Art of Osamu Tezuka,* 91.

18. Quoted in Miyamoto Hirohito, "How Characters Stand Out," trans. Thomas Lamarre, *Mechademia* 6 (2011): 85.

19. Ada Palmer, "All Life Is Genocide: The Philosophical Pessimism of Osamu Tezuka," in *Mangatopia: Essays on Manga and Anime in the Modern World,* ed. Timothy Perper and Martha Cornog (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Libraries Unlimited, 2011), 180; Brophy, "Tezuka's *Gekiga,*" 131.

20. McCarthy, *The Art of Osamu Tezuka,* 186; Power, *God of Comics,* 143–44.

21. Saitō Tamaki, *Beautiful Fighting Girl,* trans. J. Keith Vincent and Dawn Lawson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 87–89, 116.

22. Morikawa, "Bishōjo hyōgen no hattatsushi."

23. Honda Tōru, personal interview (September 26, 2009). Honda further explained his encounter as a young boy with reruns of the TV anime *Princess Knight* (1967–68), whose cross-dressing heroine he thought was a man until she appeared in a dress. Honda suggested that he works out this "proto-*moe*" experience (a complex attraction and excitement that he could not really explain) in the many "light novels" he writes featuring androgyny, cross-dressing, gender switching, and so on.

24. Thomas Lamarre, personal interview, May 11, 2010.

25. Itō Gō, personal interview, March 19, 2010.

26. Morikawa Kaichirō, "Azuma Hideo wa ika ni shite 'Otaku bunka no so ni natta ka?" (How did Azuma Hideo become the "Forefather of otaku culture?"), in *Azuma Hideo: Bishōjo, SF, fujōri, soshite shissō* (Azuma Hideo: *Bishōjo,* science fiction, absurdity, and disappearance) (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2011), 182.

27. The names of these exhibitions were Azuma Hideo Maniacs (Azuma Hideo maniakkusu) at the Yoshihiro Yonezawa Memorial Library of Manga and Subculture (February 4–May 29, 2011) and Azuma Hideo Bishōjo Laboratory (Azuma Hideo Bishōjo jikkenshitsu) (April 23–May 23, 2011), Meiji University, Tokyo.

28. Azuma Hideo and Yamada Tomoko, "Azuma Hideo 25,000-ji rongu intabyū: Gendai Nihon-teki bi'ishiki 'kawaii ero' no sōzōsha" (25,000-character long interview with Azuma Hideo: The creator of the contemporary Japanese "cute erotic" aesthetic), in *Azuma Hideo: Bishōjo, SF, fujōri, soshite shissō,* 30–31.

29. Sasakibara Gō, *"Bishōjo" no gendaishi* (Contemporary history of *bishōjo*) (Tokyo: Kōdansha Gendai Shinsho, 2004), 148–49.

30. Azuma and Yamada, "Azuma Hideo 25,000-ji rongu intabyū," 27.

31. Takatsuki Yasushi, *Rorikon: Nihon no shōjo shikōshatachi to sono sekai* (Lolita complex: Japan's shōjo lovers and their world) (Tokyo: Basilico, 2010), 105–11.

32. Azuma and Yamada, "Azuma Hideo 25,000-ji rongu intabyū," 32.

33. Morikawa, "Azuma Hideo wa ika ni shite 'Otaku bunka no so ni natta ka?" 181; Oki Yukao and Kazuna, "'Shibeeru' no koro" (The time of *Cybele*), lecture at the Yoshihiro Yonezawa Memorial Library of Manga and Subcultures, Meiji University, Tokyo, February 19, 2011.

34. Galbraith, "*Lolicon*." Oki, who acted as the editor, began soliciting contribitions as early as 1978 at a café called Manga Garō, which was run by a company associated with Tezuka Productions. With its collection of manga, dōjinshi, animation cels, and so on, the establishment attracted otaku, who shared drawings of *bishōjo* characters in a communal "doodle book" (*rakugakichō*) (Morikawa, "Azuma Hideo wa ika ni shite 'Otaku bunka no so ni natta ka?" 182).

35. Sasakibara, *"Bishōjo" no gendaishi,* 37.

36. Takekuma Kentarō, "Otaku no dai'ichi sedai no jiko bunseki: Akumade kojinteki na tachiba kara" (Self-analysis of the first generation of otaku: From an entirely personal standpoint), in *Mōjō genron F-kai* (Net discourse final reform), ed. Azuma Hiroki (Tokyo: Seidōsha, 2003), 107; Nakamori Akio, "'Otaku Research: The City Is Full of Otaku," trans. Matt Alt, *Néojaponisme,* April 2, 2008: http://neojaponisme.com/2008/04/02/what-kind-of-otaku-are-you/; and "Otaku Research: Can Otaku Love Like Normal People?" trans. Matt Alt, *Néojaponisme*, April 7, 2008: http://neojaponisme.com/2008/04/07/can-otaku-love-like-normal-people/.

37. Nagayama Kaoru, "Sekushuariti no henyō" (Changes in sexuality), in *Mōjō genron F-kai* (Net discourse final reform), ed. Azuma Hiroki (Tokyo: Seidōsha, 2003).

38. Tezuka Macoto, "Nihon no sabukaruchaa wo michibiita karuto no paionia" (The cult pioneer who guided Japanese subculture), in *Azuma Hideo: Bishōjo, SF, fujōri, soshite shissō,* 172.

39. Azuma Hiroki, Saitō Tamaki, and Kotani Mari, "Otaku, yaoi, dōbutsuka" (Otaku, yaoi, animalization), in *Mōjō genron F-kai,* ed. Azuma Hiroki, 181.

40. Akagi Akira, "Bishōjo shōkōgun: Rorikon to iu yokubō" (Beautiful girl syndrome: The desire called *lolicon*), *New Feminism Review* 3 (1993): 230. In this environment of re-reading Tezuka, it is even possible to speculate that *Prime Rose* (1982–83, *Puraimu roozu*) was an experiment in the *lolicon* style. This possibility was brought to my attention in a personal interview (July 5, 2011) with Noguchi Masayuki, who under the pen name Uchiyama Aki was the most commercially successful *lolicon* artist in Japan in the early 1980s. Noguchi pointed out that in 1982 both his own *Andoro Trio* and Tezuka's *Prime Rose* ran in the same commercial manga magazine, *Shōnen Champion.* He recalled meeting Tezuka at a magazine function and editors later telling him that Tezuka had expressed interest in his work. Again, the truth of this claim is not as important as the imagined proximity between Noguchi and Tezuka, which might make sense to some people in the contemporary moment.

41. Tezuka Osamu, *Garasu no chikyū wo sukue: 21-seiki no kimitachi he* (Save our mother Earth: To all of you in the 21st century) (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1996), 166–67.

42. Ibid. As Takeuchi Ichiro sees it, Tezuka had an "obsessive desire" to draw characters in motion (Takeuchi, "Tezuka and the Origin of Story *Manga*," 87). He was stubbornly resolved to produce animation, even after it ceased being profitable for him. Tomino Yoshiyuki, who worked under Tezuka, remarks that "animation is like an addictive drug to

the man" (qtd. in Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays,* 151). In the wake of Osamu Moet Moso and the Azuma Hideo exhibitions, Tezuka and his desire to move characters and be moved by them might not seem so far removed from otaku producing *dōjinshi.*

43. It seems clear that Tezuka desired transformation: "Visually or metaphorically, I like things always in motion. I have a longing for a world where nothing stays the same, where even reasons for existence change. It makes sense that everything keeps changing because life is about moving. By constantly changing, things are evolving and affecting other things. I like to observe such dynamic activities" (qtd. in Takeuchi, "Tezuka and the Origin of Story *Manga,*" 89). Moving things that are always changing and affecting other things is precisely what I want to get at by speaking of the becoming and powerful life of animation and character bodies, which leads me to Deleuze and Guattari. Interestingly, and in seeming contradiction to statements made in *Save Our Mother Earth,* Tezuka prefaces the above quote by denying that he drew transforming men and women as an expression of eroticism.

44. Greg Lynn, *Animate Form* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 9.

45. Elena del Rio, *Deleuze and the Cinemas of Performance: Powers of Affection* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2008), 27.

46. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia,* trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 499. What Deleuze and Guattari call the "power of life" expressed in the "trait" seems to me a perfect definition of "*moe* elements" (*moe yōso*), which takes the discussion in a different direction than Azuma Hiroki's "database" (Azuma, *Otaku*). Speaking of the art of lines and movement in a way that resonates with my stance on manga and anime, Tim Ingold writes, "The element . . . is a visible form that vibrates with inner life" (Tim Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge, and Description* [London: Routledge, 2011], 207).

47. Thomas Lamarre, "Speciesism, Part III: Neoteny and the Politics of Life," in *Mechademia* 6 (2011): 114.

48. Itō Gō, "*Manga* History Viewed through Proto-Characteristics," trans. Shimauchi Tetsurō, in *Tezuka: The Marvel of Manga,* ed. Philip Brophy (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2006), 112,

49. Itō, *Tezuka izu deddo,* 94–97.

50. William L. Benzon, "Dr. Tezuka's Ontology Laboratory and the Discovery of Japan," in *Mangatopia,* ed. Timothy Perper and Martha Cornog, 45, 48; LaMarre, "Speciesism, Part III," 121.

51. I do not agree with Yomota Inuhiko's analysis of *Lost World,* where Ayame the plant girl (or rather "plant obake," as she/it is described) is abandoned because she is a "threat" to the identity of humans (Yomota Inuhiko, "Stigmata in Tezuka Osamu's Works," trans. Nakatani Hajime, *Mechademia* 3 [2008], 105). Rather, from another perspective, she becomes the companion of Shikishima, a young human male. In the climatic scene of *Lost World,* Ayame evokes all sorts of potential relationships—sister, lover, pet—that index intimacy, but each of the terms shifts, evokes, and combines with others, and seems somehow "off." Desire does not settle into stable, sedimentary categories but continues to move.

52. Inspired by my encounter with Pop's Astro Boy, I have focused in this article mainly on male otaku and female characters, with the understanding that the reevaluation of Tezuka goes far beyond such limits. For example, Sasakibara Gō argues that the

response among girls and women to the anime of Tezuka's *Triton of the Sea* (1972, *Umi no Toraiton*) is the beginning of *moe*, in the sense that female fans treated the male protagonist as an idol and formed fan clubs (Sasakibara, *"Bishōjo" no gendaishi*, 21). Going back further, some claim that Tezuka's works such as *Big X* (1963–66, *Biggu X*) foregrounded the male body in scenes where the protagonist transforms and bursts out of his clothes (Kakinuma Eiko and Sagawa Toshihiko, "Eien no June" [Forever June], lecture at the Yoshihiro Yonezawa Memorial Library of Manga and Subcultures, Meiji University, Tokyo, June 26, 2011). The male body is on display and arguably sexualized in *Fire!* (1969–71), a manga by Tezuka's female assistant Mizuno Hideko that paved the way for the revolution of *shōnen ai* in the 1970s. Hence, if one wants to take this historical reimagining to the extreme (and perhaps the absurd), Tezuka is the father of otaku and of *fujoshi*.

53. James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 267, emphasis original.

54. Morikawa, *Shuto no tanjō*.

55. His message was also not received later on. For all the talk of stylistic origins, few seem to care about what Tezuka called eroticism (movement, transformation, life).

56. Sharon Kinsella, "Japanese Subculture in the 1990s: Otaku and the Amateur Manga Movement," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 24, no. 2 (1998).

57. Saitō, *Beautiful Fighting Girl*, 89, 116.

58. Galbraith, "*Lolicon*"; Mark McLelland, "Thought Policing or the Protection of Youth? Debate in Japan Over the 'Non-existent Youth Bill,'" *International Journal of Comic Art* 13, no. 1 (2011).

59. Galbraith, "Akihabara." For example, Kobayashi Takaya, a councilman from Chiyōda Ward, was flustered in a personal interview (April 20, 2009) when asked to speak about the place of *bishōjo* in Akihabara. When pressed on this point, he seemed to think that I was criticizing him and insisted that his ward would not stand for images of sexy young girls on signs, be they drawn or photographed, which he said were "offensive and disgusting." This despite the fact that Kobayashi printed images of *bishōjo* on the cover of his free magazine, *Akiba-tsū*, devoted to promoting Akihabara businesses (which revolves around *bishōjo* manga, anime, games, and figures).

HORI HIKARI

Tezuka, Shōjo Manga, and Hagio Moto

I am completely certain that my Princess Knight, *which was serialized in [the magazine]* Shōjo kurabu *(Girl's club), was the first shōjo manga in Japan. Until then girls' comics had merely presented stories of daily life filled with comedy and humor, as in* Anmitsu-hime *(*Princess Anmitsu*).*

—Tezuka Osamu, "Afterword" to *Ribon no kishi*, 1979

The commonly held notion that Tezuka Osamu is the creator of shōjo manga is repeated, even today, in various Tezuka-related publications.[1] Further reinforcement is provided by Tezuka's own statement, quoted above, which may be the origin of this belief.[2] A pioneering article on shōjo manga by Fujimoto Yukari (b. 1959) has done even more to cement the tie between Tezuka and the history of the genre, in particular by situating him as the founder of the motif of sexual deviance, which Fujimoto characterizes as one of the defining themes of shōjo manga:

> It should be emphasized that the history of shōjo manga began with hermaphroditism. Of course, Tezuka Osamu's work *Princess Knight*

> [1953–56, *Ribon no kishi*] is so well known as to need no mention. It was serialized from 1953 in *Shōjo kurabu* (Girls' club) as the first "story manga" in the history of Japanese shōjo manga . . . Since then, shōjo manga have charted this strange evolution in which experiments that transgress sex-identity or gender roles are continually repeated in the "genderless worlds" of girls' inner lives.[3]

Fujimoto argues that the character Sapphire's shifting between female and male roles in *Princess Knight*—that is, the theme of the protagonist's "changing gender identities" (*seibetsu ekkyō*)—became the prototype for transgressive presentations of gender and sexuality in shōjo manga. Fujimoto's work was pioneering in that it provided a comprehensive analysis of shōjo manga from perspectives informed by gender and sexuality studies. However, her claims should be reexamined and further complicated. In particular, I would argue that the worlds of the works of the "Forty-Niners" ("*Nijūyonen-gumi*"), emphasized by Fujimoto as representative of shōjo manga, provide far more ambiguous, subversive, and provocative representations of gender and sexuality than those found in Tezuka's work.

Although my analysis and argument will be limited in this short paper, I attempt to address how the representations of gender and sexuality separate Tezuka's works from those of the Forty-Niners, especially Hagio Moto (b. 1949). I will first discuss the representation of gender roles in *Princess Knight* in relation to the Takarazuka Revue. Then, I will provide a textual analysis of *The Heart of Thomas* (1975, *Tōma no shinzō*) by Hagio Moto in comparison with Tezuka's *Shinsengumi* (1963).[4] The discussion of Hagio in this connection is crucial, because in interviews she has repeatedly stressed that it was her encounter with Tezuka's *Shinsengumi* that made her decide to become a manga artist. She even names it as a manga she has reread many times.[5] This analysis of the commonality and differences between the two artists' works will serve as a case study that illuminates their different approaches in representing gender and the body.

PRINCESS KNIGHT: TEZUKA AND THE TAKARAZUKA REVUE

The Takarazuka Revue, founded in 1913 by Kobayashi Ichizō (1873–1957), has long been popular for its many Western-style musicals. All the actors are female, and although the producers and directors are predominantly male,

their productions are generally understood to be entertainment aimed at women and children. It is noteworthy that Tezuka's connection with the Takarazuka Revue is often mobilized to support claims that, despite being an adult male, he understood the world of women and children and their sensibilities. Tezuka himself stated:

> I grew up in Takarazuka, home of Japan's famous all-female musical theater troupe, so naturally in my youth I imbibed the romantic and flamboyant atmosphere of this world. My characters' costumes as well as the scenery that surrounds them owe much to the theater. More importantly, the spirit of nostalgia toward Takarazuka pervades and infuses my work.[6]

THE TAKARAZUKA REVUE, IN TEZUKA'S VIEW, EMBODIED A NOSTALGIC PAST AND HIS OWN CHILDHOOD, A FAKE BUT DAZZLING INTRODUCTION TO FOREIGN CULTURES IN WHICH ONLY CHILDREN WOULD INDULGE.

Because the Revue's predominant audience consisted of women and children, Tezuka's statement has frequently been taken as suggesting he had a good understanding of the sensibility of girls.

Departing from the issue of feminine sensibility, the critic Natsume Fusanosuke offers an important textual analysis of the relationship between Tezuka's early works and the Takarazuka Revue. He argues that the mise-en-scène of Tezuka's early works, which has been understood as influenced by Disney animation and Western films, could have originated predominantly from the Revue. Natsume does not deny that Disney, Hollywood, and European films were sources of inspiration, but he points out that both Tezuka's construction of space and the stylized posing and expression of emotions of his characters in his early works (hand gestures, posing on tiptoe with hands pressed on chest, and so on) are more theatrical than cinematic.[7] In addition, the costume of the character Mitchy in *Metropolis* (1949) and the Egyptian palace interior in *Kimba the White Lion* (1950–54, *Janguru taitei*) are very similar to costumes and artistic sets used in the Revue.[8] Thus, Natsume suggests that the Takarazuka Revue's exoticism served as a source for Tezuka's imagining of foreign settings and cultures. Tezuka himself once remarked that "The Revue is all fake, but it shows us something international."[9]

In 1952, Tezuka left home at the age of twenty-four to move to Tokyo, the center of the children's manga industry: "After I came to Tokyo, instead of going to the Revue, I started to go to see movies such as *The Third Man* [1949, dir. Carol Reed] and *High Noon* [1952, dir. Fred Zinnemann]. This meant that I became disappointed with the fantasy worlds that the Revue presented."[10]

The Takarazuka Revue, in Tezuka's view, embodied a nostalgic past and his own childhood, a fake but dazzling introduction to foreign cultures in which only children would indulge.

Nonetheless, the Revue is seen to have had a persistent impact on Tezuka's work, and indeed the cross-dressing of Sapphire in *Princess Knight* is often explained as due to its influence. Fujimoto argues that it is noteworthy that *Princess Knight* emphasizes and foregrounds the constructedness of sexual identity rather than biological determinism and claims that it is not biological sexual identity that determines selfhood in the manga.[11] However, contrary to Fujimoto's reading, the representation of gender in this manga is straightforward and categorical, rather than subversive and volatile. In my view, Sapphire's biological femaleness is marked in the visual depiction of her body. Sapphire is a female who oscillates between feminine and masculine identities (submissive/aggressive, passive/active, nonviolent/violent) and such oscillation is resolved in the end. Manga scholar Oshiyama Michiko correctly points out that the character's eyes with long eyelashes remain the same despite her series of restless changes from male to female, or vice versa.[12] Femaleness is assigned to the depiction of Sapphire's figure and the way she carries herself even when she is in male attire. In fact, it is her *male* attire that emphasizes her feminine body, such as her Marlene Dietrich–like curvy calves and thin ankles. Unlike the loose clothing of other male characters, her male attire stresses the lines of her body, her small waist, and her implied breasts. Furthermore, while the protagonist's change of gender roles is used to create tension and suspense in the narrative, she achieves unity of her gender identity and biological body in the end by becoming a bride in a heterosexual marriage, which also provides for narrative closure.

In contrast, the Takarazuka Revue exhibits a subversive representation of gender and sexuality, different from the world of Sapphire. While the Revue also produces numerous heteronormative romantic stories and presupposes that female actors play male roles, it also foregrounds the constructedness of gender norms wherein actors act out imagined and idealized gender roles, which the audience fully understands as a performance.[13] The performance of gender roles does not lead to exclusion of masculinity or femininity and does not require the unity of specific gender norms with the actor's biological body. Moreover, the Revue introduces ambiguity into existing social norms of sexuality. Are female fans who are in love with the male impersonator (*otokoyaku*) in love with the female actor or with the male character? Should we understand the romantic interaction between the female and male characters as heterosexual or homoerotic? The distinction is blurred, which creates an

androgynous gender and sexual identity in the space of reception that undermines compulsory heterosexuality.

Although the motif of female characters' cross-dressing in Tezuka works such as *Metropolis, Princess Knight,* or even in *Dororo* (1967–68) very likely derives from the Revue, the subversive nature of the Revue is not limited only to female transvestite practices. As mentioned above, the Revue confuses normative sexual desire by creating homoerotic tensions among actors and between actors and the audience. Such a complicated exploration of sexual politics cannot be found in Tezuka's characterization of Sapphire or other of his cross-dressing characters. On the other hand, the Revue's ambiguous space for the representation of gender and sexuality parallels, though does not necessarily overlap with, works by some of the Forty-Niners.

TEZUKA AND HAGIO MOTO

Hagio Moto, a "long-selling artist and a canonical figure," says that it was Tezuka's work that made her decide to become a manga artist:[14]

> When I read Tezuka's *Shinsengumi,* I was really shocked and stayed in that state for about a week . . . For the first time, I wished that I could become a professional manga artist.[15]

Shinsengumi was serialized in the monthly magazine *Shōnen bukku* in 1963, though it was the subsequent paperback version (*tankōbon*) that Hagio read.[16] The story features a fictional character named Fukakusa Kyūjūrō who joins the Shinsengumi to avenge the murder of his father by a Tosa domain retainer.[17] Within the Shinsengumi, he becomes best friends with another youth, Kamakiri Daisaku, who is a formidable swordsman. However, Fukakusa is ordered by his superior to kill Kamakiri, who was discovered to be a spy from the Chōshū domain. Fukakusa is not convinced of the necessity of killing his best friend, and he is also doubtful about the Shinsengumi's justification of its violence toward both its enemies and ordinary people. Yet in the end he kills his best friend in a one-on-one swordfight.

Hagio analyzes her own reaction to this title, which is one of Tezuka's lesser-known works, as follows:

> I felt that what the protagonist thinks is what Tezuka thought . . . I realized that it was all right for me to express my own thoughts through manga. I

> had been reading Tezuka since I was much younger, but my encounter with *Shinsengumi* was timely as during that period I was filled with the desire to express myself.[18]

Her attitude to Tezuka is rather different from the passionate admiration and intense tribute to a master of manga displayed elsewhere, for instance in comparison with *Manga michi* (1970–82, The passage to manga) by Fujiko Fujio or *Pluto* (2003–9) by Urasawa Naoki. Her remark stresses the coincidence of Tezuka's influence on her.

Hagio debuted in the monthly magazine *Nakayoshi* in 1969 with a comical story entitled *Ruru to Mimi* (Lulu and Mimi). She soon shifted her works from *Nakayoshi* to *Shōjo komikku,* a magazine founded by the publishing house Shōgakukan, which was entering the shōjo manga publishing business rather late and sought its own artists to sustain its periodical publications. Because the magazine was newly founded and free from conventions, it even welcomed the rather serious works by Hagio that had been rejected by *Nakayoshi* as unsuitable for younger audiences.[19] Such relatively dark Hagio stories such as *Yuki no ko* (1971, Snow child), *Pō no ichizoku* (1972–76, The Poe clan), and *The Heart of Thomas* (1974, *Tōma no shinzō*) all became critically acclaimed hits. Her works featured various outsiders: a girl disguised as a boy, eternal child-vampires, and adolescent boarding-school boys with a strong sense of alienation. In this sense, Hagio's protagonists could be said to resemble Tezuka's Fukakusa, who could not feel at home in the Shinsengumi or indeed in the society of late Edo-period Japan. To examine further the commonalities and differences between these two artists' works, I would like to turn to Hagio's *The Heart of Thomas.*

The story is set in a German boys' boarding school where male–male romantic and sexual relationships take place as a matter of course. These relationships serve as a mirror image of Adrienne Rich's notion of a "lesbian continuum," a spectrum of same-sex relationships varying from strong friendships to romantic relationships and sexual liaisons.[20] The narrative opens with the suicide note of one of the younger students, Thomas (Tōma), who was adored by everyone in the school but whose love for his senior classmate Juli (Yūri) was unrequited. After the suicide, a new student Eric (Eeriku) becomes interested in Juli, and, without meaning to, he gradually comes to understand Juli's complicated family circumstances, racial stigmatization, religious outlook, and also the emotional and physical violations (possibly including gang rape) imposed on him by several of his senior classmates in the past. Juli's psychological and physical pains are, metaphorically, shown as the scars on

his back that, in Eric's understanding, were caused when his "wings" were taken away.[21] It is a story of the vulnerability of bodies and of trust, romance, and friendship.

Both *Shinsengumi* and *The Heart of Thomas* are set in all-male institutions, include the theme of the separation between friends or lovers, and conclude with the protagonist becoming a survivor. Both endings, moreover, suggest that a new chapter opens for this protagonist. Nevertheless, there are significant differences between them. The Shinsengumi is presented as an organization—or an existing social system—contaminated by inner political conflicts, injustice, and corruption. The protagonist is torn between his initial commitment and newly emerging doubts about his affiliation, but he eventually overcomes this conflict by leaving the organization. In this sense, the notion of affiliation serves as a device for advancing the protagonist's coming of age. Killing his best friend frees him from his conflicts with the affiliation, prevents him from further exploring his attachment to his same-sex friend (a romantic relationship is thereby denied), and enables him to enter a new stage in his life.

It is noteworthy that *Shinsengumi* foregrounds an individual's resistance to conventional rules, a commitment to his own values, the search for something worth believing in, and his internal psychological conflicts. If I may borrow Natsume's description of other works by Tezuka, it is the quality of male youth, or "*seinensei*," that dominates Fukakusa's characterization.[22] Natsume argues that Tezuka revolutionized the genre of early boy's manga by introducing images of male youths "who have twisted personalities, who suffer, and who die" into his stories.[23] Male youths hold onto "the romantic idea of continuously resisting the established system," and agonize over internal dilemmas.[24] In this narrative depiction of male youth in *Shinsengumi*, it seems that the protagonist's body serves merely as a convenient vehicle over which his mind presides.

Shinsengumi was created at a time when Tezuka felt challenged by the newly emerging *gekiga* style of storytelling and drawing.[25] Natsume points out that Tezuka experiments with "*gekiga*-styled gushing blood" in the scene where Fukakusa slashes the body of Kamakiri.[26] However, while "the *gekiga* blood visualizes . . . a new sense of 'reality' as if to insist that this *is* blood gushing from a human body," Tezuka's brush stroke does not intend to create any such sense of reality.[27] In fact, the blood is expressed as a series of dot-like marks as if he quickly and repeatedly pressed his brush against the surface of the paper. It does not have the sense of speed and intensity that one would expect from typical *gekiga* drawing; instead, it is quite decorative and symbolic. Preceding this climactic scene, Tezuka inserts panels introducing

the intensifying psychological tension of the swordfight, and in the panels following, Fukakusa's acute sense of loss is emphasized, when Kamakiri's body half-sinks into a river. Curiously, however, the reality of this cut-up body is thin. Even Kamakiri's last remark that he would await Fukakusa in the next life to be friends again endorses the significance of the mind/spirit over the materiality of the body.

On the other hand, Hagio's *The Heart of Thomas* does not correspond with Tezuka's depictions of an established society, of the nature of male youths, and of the body. The boys' boarding school is not presented as a social institution that the protagonist would rebel against. It is rather a narrative device used to segregate characters from an actual sense of society and social obligations, allowing Hagio to focus on their relationships and identity formation. However, this identity formation is not a linear, coming-of-age development, but a spiral, or even a circular one. Most important, the representation of the body is inseparable from the raison d'être of the characters in *The Heart of Thomas*. Juli's body is a material as well as a psychological, emotional entity: it is a site of injury, identity formation, and survival.

Juli is repeatedly portrayed with wings, a metaphor for a light-hearted, free, mobile, and pure existence, but he is also depicted as mourning the loss of these wings. His monologue about the shattering of his selfhood and trust in others is interwoven into the depiction of his scars and fearful memories. For these depictions, graphics overflow beyond panels, and the compartmentalized arrangement of panels is often interrupted to present almost tableau-like images. Moreover, the fundamental difference in the two artists' treatment of the body can be further elucidated through examining their representation of violence. Rather than condensed into a single scene, as it is in the climactic *Shinsengumi* moment when Fukakusa severs Kamakiri's body, the depiction of violence in *The Heart of Thomas* is repeated in various panels and contexts. This device emphasizes that Juli must live with his injured body (and mind). Unlike Fukakusa and Kamakiri's simplistic, mortal bodies, Juli's body is highly sexualized and gendered. His body is feminized by the implication of rape, and his loss of wings could be read as his loss of virginity, the loss of which does not make for a male initiation ritual but indicates a violent discontinuity in one's life.

Interestingly, the philosopher and critic Yoshimoto Takaaki (1924–2012) once remarked to Hagio, "Though all your characters are male, all of them seem female to me."[28] Juli's masculine traits are not emphasized, although he could have been the perfect hero of a story, because he is described as intelligent, good-natured, and even quite athletic. Indeed, Yoshimoto's reference to male

characters' ambiguous and unsettling gender invites an exploration of the issue of readership.[29]

THUS, *SHŌNEN AI* TEXTS PROMISE THE FEMALE READER MULTIPLE VIEWING POSITIONS, A PLEASURABLE EXPERIENCE—AND A RARE AND UNCONVENTIONAL ONE PRIOR TO THE EMERGENCE OF THIS GENRE.

The feminist sociologist Ueno Chizuko (b. 1948) makes an important argument in her examination of the representation of sexuality in the work of the Forty-Niners, in particular their treatment of the male homoeroticism (*shōnen ai*). In such manga, according to Ueno, female readers are able to reverse the conventional politics of vision that locates the male as the subject of the gaze and the female as the object to be looked at. It is the male body that becomes the object of gaze, and it is female readers who are able to examine comfortably the notion of sexuality since their own body (or the artist's body) is safe and not exposed to any real-life sexual threats or violence.

This point is noteworthy: that is, a focus on male–male relationships in settings where there are few female characters facilitates female readers' identification with the story—especially a story of sexual assault, trauma, and survival—since the readers' actual bodies can be detached from those of the main characters in the fictional world. Women are assured and accommodated as readers of the text, which would be difficult if the presentation were of the female body, which has already been violated by philosophical, literary, cinematic, and visual languages in society. Thus, *shōnen ai* texts promise the female reader multiple viewing positions, a pleasurable experience—and a rare and unconventional one prior to the emergence of this genre. The various viewing positions make it possible for them to exercise their own gaze at the male body displayed for sexual consumption (a reversal of female bodies serving the male pornographic gaze), to imagine and identify with the vulnerability of male bodies in the narrative, and to examine the constructedness of femininity and masculinity as well as the violation of sexualized bodies. As is clear from Hagio's remark that if she were to create an all-female story, it would be too realistic, "burdened, and limited" (*fujiyū ni naru*);[30] stories with an all-male cast of characters offer female readers the flexibility and mobility to assume the positions of both genders, yet do not coerce them into committing to either of them. In sum, the female readers of such shōjo manga are omnipotent.

This unconventional power and pleasure of female readership separates Hagio's *The Heart of Thomas* from Tezuka's *Princess Knight* and *Shinsengumi*. A helpful perspective on the differences among these works is provided by Laura Mulvey's illuminating discussion of Hollywood classic cinema. While her "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" is one of the most important treatments

of the power relations between the male gaze as subject and the female body as its object, Mulvey's afterthoughts on this classic article are even more useful for analysis of Tezuka's works.[31] She discusses a female character in the western *Duel in the Sun* (1946, dir. King Vidor) whose social and psychological position is similar to that of the female spectator. Mulvey's Freudian reading points out that "for women (from childhood onwards) trans-sex identification is a *habit* that very easily becomes *second nature*" and describes the mechanism of women's restless oscillation between masculinity and femininity.[32] She posits that striving to be masculine is a female developmental stage before femininity sets in; the logic of cinematic narratives reactivates women's identification with masculinity, but it is precisely this masculinity that must be repressed to assert feminine gender identity.

This schema also applies to Sapphire in *Princess Knight* and to the female readership of this manga. Only with heteronormative marriage and suppression of masculinity do Sapphire and the female readers achieve stability. Thus, the manga situates female characters and spectators to shift restlessly and then leads them to a fixed position of womanhood, as Hollywood narratives do. In this context, women are in the end not connected with the active role and the subject of gaze. On the other hand, for the readers of *The Heart of Thomas*, their experience of the work is not one of restless oscillation leading to stability but rather that of liminal bodies and the ambiguity of gender and sexuality.

In *Shinsengumi*, as I noted above, the stress of the narrative is placed on the nature and experience of male youths. This *seinensei* is heterosexual and avoids exploring male–male relationships any further than being good friends. Here again, the manga narrative emphasizes masculinity as something to aspire to, but at the same time something to suppress within the self of the female spectator. Unlike the male characters in *The Heart of Thomas*, where their vulnerable bodies are emphasized, the Tezuka story is, in Mulvey's words, "structured around masculine pleasure," offering an identification with the active point of view that reflects a male fantasy of ambition and dominance.[33] There is very little space for a female sexually desiring gaze toward the male body, for any sense of empathy toward physical vulnerability, or for the liminality and mobility of identities.

CONCLUSION

Tezuka made two major contributions to postwar narrative manga: the organization of systematic visual symbolism (for example, the shape of eyebrows

or eyes to indicate specific emotions, drops of sweat, lines to refer to speed, and so on) and the arrangement of panels to indicate a sense of time, speed, or emotion. With these techniques, manga achieved a unique manner of expression that became untranslatable into language.[34] Tezuka is also, as we have seen in this article, an important figure for Forty-Niner writers like Hagio. She reread his works at a time when she was searching for a way to refresh the ideas, themes, and style of her manga.[35] However, the notion of a linear historical development of the shōjo manga motif of transgressive or ambiguous gender identities starting from Sapphire in *Princess Knight* and leading to the Forty-Niners should be carefully reexamined. Once we pay attention to Tezuka's emphasis on the spirituality of male youths and his lack of exploration of gender relations and volatile sexuality, it becomes harder to characterize him as an inspiration or resource for canonical shōjo manga of the 1970s, including those by Hagio. Further comparison of the works of Tezuka Osamu and Hagio Moto, and more detailed consideration of various works from the 1970s golden age of shōjo manga, will provide an important way of narrating a more complex and nuanced history of the genre.

Notes

1. For example, Yonezawa Yoshihiro, *Sengo shōjo mangashi* (Postwar history of shōjo manga) (1980; Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2007), 98; Schodt, *Manga! Manga!: The World of Japanese comics* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1983), 96; Takeuchi Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu ron* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1992), 128. A few critics and scholars, however, have raised questions regarding this "misconception." See, for example, Yamada Tomoko, "Kirakira-boshi hitomi no rūtsu wa?" (The origin of starry eyes?), in *Manga no ibasho* (Where manga is), edited by Natsume Fusanosuke (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2003), 98–99; Oshiyama Michiko, "'Ribon no kishi' ni okeru 'shōjo manga' no kata" (The existing patterns of shōjo manga found in *Princess Knight*), *Manga kenkyū* 14 (2008): 44–55; Helen McCarthy, *The Art of Tezuka Osamu: God of Manga* (New York: Abrams ComicArts, 2009), 145. In this paper, I tentatively define shōjo manga as works created for girls and published in magazines targeted at girls.

2. Tezuka Osamu, "Afterword," in *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū 86 Ribon no kishi shōjo kurabu ban* (Complete works of Tezuka Osamu, vol. 86, *Princess Knight, Shōjo Club* version) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1979), 188. The 1979 publication date of Tezuka's manifesto-like statement is interesting since it coincides with the time when the genre of shōjo manga and the work of the Forty-Niners, or *nijūyonen-gumi*, in particular began to gain critical attention in Japan. It is as if Tezuka felt the need to locate himself as a founding father of the genre. The term "Forty-Niners" refers to a group of female shōjo manga artists whose works received broad critical attention for their themes and styles in the 1970s. Though its precise membership is still disputed, Aoike Yasuko, Hagio Moto, Kihara Toshie, Oshima Yumiko, Sasaya Nanaeko, Takemiya Keiko, and Yamagishi Ryoko are considered representative of the group.

3. Fujimoto Yukari, "Onna no ryōsei guyū, otoko no han'in'yō," in *Watashi no ibasho wa doko ni aruno?* (Where do I belong?) (Tokyo: Gakuyō Shobō, 1998); translated by Linda Flores and Kazumi Nagaike, "Transgender: Female Hermaphrodites and Male Androgynes" in *U.S.–Japan Women's Journal* 27 (2004): 77–78. The original version of Fujimoto's article was first published in 1990.

4. Hagio Moto, *The Heart of Thomas*, trans. Matt Thorn (Seattle, Wash.: Fantagraphics, 2013).

5. Hagio Moto, "Watashi no manga jinsei" (My manga life), in *Hagio Moto: Sōtokushū shōjo mangakai no idainaru haha* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2010), 19–20, 32–33.

6. Tezuka Osamu, "Epilogue," in *Ribon no kishi* (*Princess Knight*), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1987), 350. The English translation is taken from *Kōdansha bairingaru komikkusu bairingaru ban Ribon no kishi* (The Kōdansha bilingual edition of *Princess Knight*) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001), 113.

7. Natsume Fusanosuke, *Tezuka Osamu no bōken* (The Adventure of Tezuka Osamu) (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1998), 122. Natsume's argument that the Revue is the source of Tezuka's visual style is also confirmed by Nakano Haruyuki, *Tezuka Osamu no Takarazuka* (Tezuka Osamu's Takarazuka) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1994), especially 193–209.

8. Natsume, *Tezuka Osamu no bōken*, 115, 120.

9. Tezuka Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu totteoki no hanashi* (Tezuka Osamu best stories) (Tokyo: Shinnippon Shuppansha, 1990), 18.

10. Ibid., 20.

11. Fujimoto, "Transgender," 77.

12. Oshiyama Michiko, "'Danso no shōjo' kyarakutaa no shuppatsuten Tezuka Osamu 'Ribon no kishi'" (The birth of 'a girl character in male attire' in Osamu Tezuka's *Princess Knight*), in *Shōjo manga jendaa hyōshōron: "danso no shōjo" no zōkei to aidentiti* (Gender and representation in shōjo manga: Characterization and identity of "cross-dressing" girls) (Tokyo: Sairyūsha, 2007), 11–55.

13. Recent feminist scholarship has reexamined this women-oriented theater, revealing a dynamic, experimental space that enables the subversive representation of gender and sexuality. See the documentary film *Dream Girls* (1994, dir. Kim Longinotto); Jennifer Robertson, *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Kawasaki Kenko, *Takarazuka: Shōhi shakai no supekutakuru* (Takarazuka: The spectacle of the society of consumption) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1999).

14. Shimazaki Kyōko, "Mangaka, Hagio Moto, shōjo manga ga bungaku wo koeta hi" (Manga artist Hagio Moto: The day shōjo manga surpassed literature), *AERA*, May 1/May 8 combined issue (2006): 69.

15. Hagio Moto and Yoshimoto Takaaki, "Taiwa: Jiko hyōgen to shite no shōjo manga" (Dialogue: Shōjo manga as self-expression), *Yuriika* 13, no. 9 (1981): 86.

16. Hagio was a sophomore in high school when she read it. See ibid. In discussing *Shinsengumi*, I refer to the reprinting in *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū 11 Shinsengumi* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977).

17. The Shinsengumi was a police force formed to suppress anti-shogunate groups in Kyoto in the late Edo period that later joined the shogunate forces against Satsuma, Chōshu, and Tosa retainers who supported the restoration of imperial authority in the

Boshin civil war (1868–69). Though some characters and incidents are based on historical facts, the protagonists of the manga are fictional.

18. Hagio and Yoshimoto, "Taiwa," 87.

19. Yonezawa Yoshihiro, "Komikku-kai no 'chō shōjotachi': 3 josei mangaka intabyū" ("Super girls" in comics: Three interviews with female manga artists), *Mainichi gurafu* 39, issue 43 (1986): 56; Shimazaki, "Mangaka," 70.

20. Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," *Blood, Bread, and Poetry* (New York: Norton, 1986).

21. Hagio Moto, *Tōma no shinzō* (*The Heart of Thomas*) (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1995), 408.

22. Natsume, *Tezuka Osamu no bōken,* 126.

23. Ibid., 135.

24. Ibid., 233.

25. The new *gekiga* style emerged in the late 1950s and became popular in the 1960s. In contrast with conventional children's manga, the drawings were relatively realistic and the stories could be dark, violent, and erotic. The genre defined itself as targeting young adult males and the stories were released for privately run rental libraries (the *kashihon* industry). Representative artists include Tatsumi Yoshihiro, Shirato Sanpei, and Saitō Takao.

26. Tezuka, *Shinsengumi,* 216; Natsume, *Tezuka Osamu wa doko ni iru,* 183.

27. Ibid., 184.

28. Hagio and Yoshimoto, "Taiwa," 91.

29. The male readership of the male homoeroticism in shōjo manga is an important issue to explore, though it is beyond the scope of this paper.

30. Hagio and Yoshimoto, "Taiwa," 90.

31. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" and "Afterthoughts on 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' inspired by King Vidor's *Duel in the Sun* (1946)," in *Feminist Film Theory: A Reader,* ed. Sue Thornham (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 58–69 and 122–130. The original articles were published in 1975 and 1981, respectively.

32. Mulvey, "Afterthoughts," 125 (emphasis original).

33. Mulvey, "Afterthoughts," 124–25.

34. Natsume, *Tezuka Osamu no bōken*, 38–39.

35. Shimazaki, "Mangaka," 71.

ALICIA GIBSON

Out of Death, an Atomic Consecration to Life: *Astro Boy* and Hiroshima's Long Shadow

Originating as a Japanese manga series from 1951, the television program *Astro Boy* (*Tetsuwan Atomu*) was broadcast in Japan between 1963 and 1966.[1] Due to the enormity of the show's popularity, NBC quickly bought rights to syndicate *Astro Boy*, making it the first Japanese television series broadcast in the United States.[2] In addition to its popularity in the United States and Japan, the animated series gained widespread international popularity throughout the Cold War era and was remade in the 1980s,[3] and again in 2003.[4] The original Japanese title, *Mighty Atom* (*Tetsuwan Atomu*), illustrates more clearly than its English counterpart (*Astro Boy*) the central role atomic power played in the cartoon series. The hero Atom (*Atomu*), a young robot created in the form of a human boy, is powered by nuclear energy. Atom, with his peaceful use of atomic power, embodies the latent utopian possibilities of the atomic age—nuclear power used to save rather than to destroy.[5] Yet, anime critic Daisuke Miyao notes the darker side of Atom: "As the Japanese title for the series, 'Mighty atom,' suggests, the superhero 'son of science' Atomu is at once a hero and a threat. Because he draws his powers from nuclear energy, any breakdown on his part could mean grave danger."[6] In order to turn this technology into a life-saving power, humanity, here represented by a precocious Atom, must

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learn to wisely manage the tremendous power it has discovered. This essay reconsiders the cultural impact of *Astro Boy* as a bridge between the nightmare of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the one hand, and the utopic fantasy of unlimited power generated by the nuclear reactor on the other. As the first cultural icon representing both sides of atomic power, *Astro Boy* offers a provocative lens through which we might consider the relationship between nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants in order to better understand the workings of atomic power in our contemporary moment.

Contained within a small boy's frame, Atom—due to a complex integration of atomic, mechanical, electrical, and (in later releases of the show) digital technologies—flies with supersonic speed and battles forces of destruction with strength the equivalent of a "100,000 horsepower" atomic reactor. In the early 1950s when Tezuka Osamu first created *Astro Boy,* the robot's famed "100,000 horsepower" was meant to represent an order of power at the limit of human imagination. Yet, given the actual power unleashed in an atomic

FIGURE 1. "Astro Boy," Episode 1: The Birth of Astro Boy, the original Japanese version, aired January 1, 1963. Mushi Productions, Osamu Tezuka. Used by permission of Tezuka Productions Co., Ltd. All rights reserved.

explosion, and its escalating potential power in the Cold War—measured by reference to the power of the sun itself—Atom's "100,000 horsepower" reactor was already oddly obsolete at the time of his inception. This slippage highlights the difficulty audiences had integrating the terrifying reality of a world gone nuclear with previous conceptions of technological power. The forces unleashed in the attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki exponentially outpaced even the projections of the scientists who created the bomb, who after witnessing a detonation described the new form of energy as comparable to "a thousand suns."[7] A Japanese doctor who witnessed the bombing from a small village on the outskirts of Hiroshima summed up his experiences with the simple title, "The Day Hiroshima Disappeared."[8] This inconceivable magnitude was simply too frightening to confront directly, though equally impossible to ignore. However, by transposing the power of the atomic bomb into a "100,000 horsepower" atomic reactor, Atom provides a more manageable reference for those whose utopic dreams of nuclear power might just as easily turn to nightmare.

In keeping with this milder reference for atomic power, one wrapped in a cuddly package, *Astro Boy* also offers an example of atomic power's possible positive uses. Although technically a weaponized robot (powered by nuclear fission, he has laser beams and machine guns that shoot out of his backside), Atom is nonetheless employed not to destroy the world's cities but to save them. As he awkwardly discovers his new capabilities, he represents not only atomic technologies but also humanity itself, learning to use this new power to beneficial purpose. Just as a troubled humanity struggles with a new form of power and its attendant ethical dilemmas, Atom's control over his capacities is not complete: he has the strength of a superhuman, but only a boy's control of these awesome powers. In the manga and anime series, his foibles largely play to comic effect. When asked to clean the robot tigers until they shine, his intensive efforts scrub off even their stripes, leaving them gleaming white; when left alone in an airship cabin, he accidentally rips pipes from the walls, breaks the legs off chairs, and generally embarrasses his handler's attempts to integrate him into "normal" society. Thus the boy's overwhelming strength can become a liability exposing his imperfection. Behind the comedy lies a serious message: we must learn to control the atomic power we have awakened.[9]

Despite the flaws in the original manga series (Schodt describes it aptly: convoluted plot, too many characters, too much text, slow pacing, cramped graphics), *Astro Boy* succeeded as an outlet for atomic anxieties; the displacement of atomic war into the future and into an alternate fantastical world

served as a kind of psychic cushion. Literary critic Fredric Jameson describes this method, common to science fiction, as a particular historical mode that fixes the present as the already past of some time to come. According to Jameson, science fiction is a form of representation that does not so much train its audience for the dizzying shocks and displacements of technological change as create an elaborate distraction that enables its audience to apprehend the present. The fantastical elements and the projection into the future are necessary because of the empty alienation of the present, a reality against which modern subjects have created defense mechanisms that shield them, just as it makes them blind to the nature of that reality. Placing *Astro Boy* within this description of the narrative logic of science fiction, the various incarnations of the *Astro Boy* story can be seen as a "process of distraction and displacement, repression and lateral perceptual renewal" that transforms the historical experience of the atomic bombings into an image that can be apprehended without flinching.[10]

Astro Boy is ostensibly set in a future when the utopian promise of atomic power has come to fruition and is seamlessly integrated into the social structure—the question of atomic power is all but invisible save for the title of the story. However, the narrative should be read as a historical document of the 1950s, a world where atomic technologies are anything but commonplace. The moment out of which Tezuka created the series reverberated with the political aftermath of nuclear power. Indeed, before Tezuka had a story he had a word: *atom*. Not only had the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki been destroyed a mere six years earlier, the Americans were also actively building their nuclear program and testing their advancing weaponry on the Marshall Islands to the southwest of Japan.

At the same time, President Eisenhower sought a way to mask the escalation of nuclear weapons technology, announcing in his 1953 "Atoms for Peace" speech at the United Nations that the United States would devote "its entire heart and mind to find the way by which the miraculous inventiveness of man shall not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life."[11] Most shocking, the United States government sought not only to make Japan the target of Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" program but also specifically targeted Hiroshima as the ground zero for their propaganda efforts.[12] Yet as Peter Kuznick points out, during this program, the United States simultaneously pursued an exponential intensification of its nuclear weapons program. The American nuclear arsenal grew from approximately 1,000 nuclear warheads at the start of the Eisenhower presidency to nearly 22,000 by the time he left office. Tezuka found himself in the crucible of this new nuclear order; in an interview

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with Schodt he remarked that "everyone was talking about *atoms* then."[13] Tezuka yearned to transform the nuclear fears of the day into an image of utopian stability in ways remarkably similar to the rhetoric of Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" speech. His earliest story idea came in the form of an imaginary continent, an "Atom continent" where atomic power was used for peaceful purposes rather than for war. This narrative displacement into the future and onto an imagined space ironically enables its audience to view its historical trajectory through the masking of that reality in fantasy, play, and visual desire.

Just as the "birth" of atomic energy as a technological, cultural, and political reality occurred through the sacrifice of the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, so does the cartoon series found its narrative arc on death. According to the storyline presented in the first episode, "The Birth of Astro Boy," the robot boy is meant to mask the tragic loss of another boy's life. In the episode's opening scenes the audience meets the "original boy" —Dr. Tenma's son Tobio who has died in a violent accident. The child's death and his father's subsequent remorse quickly transform into a "birthing" scene as Tenma decides to tempt fate and replicate the divine mysteries of life and death by creating an exact replica of his dead child, this time in the form of a new robotic weapon—Atom. Shadowed in darkness and secrecy, a distraught Tenma pushes forward with his scientific experiment, which is laid out in its cold steel shell on an operating table. Here the line between creation and destruction blurs. Tenma brings life to his new "son." And yet the scene also takes on the tone of funeral rite. Above all, the body lying on the table symbolizes a grieving father's inability to face the absolute law of mortality; he cannot say goodbye.

What are we to make of this melancholic beginning of a children's cartoon series? Within the very first minutes of the show, as we are introduced to the larger story arc and foundational narrative, we encounter the death of a child and the birth of a machine. The life of the robot-boy is forever tied to the life of this other child, the "real" boy. As an inert and lifeless machinic shell awaiting Tenma's life-giving touch, Atom must first reenact the boy's death before coming to life—the father acknowledges as much in the silent gesture made in the darkness of the laboratory. While the family dog "Jump" finally accepts him as the young master returned from the grave, his "father" does not. Atom faithfully studies the relationship between words and things, and earnestly

embarks upon the project of becoming Tobio. However, he is forever trapped within the steel cage of Tenma's making: he cannot grow. With every passing year his now too-faithful replication of the "original" son as he *was* serves only to remind Tenma of his ultimate failure. Moreover, Astro Boy's internal nuclear reactor makes him much more powerful than the human Tobio—or for that matter, more powerful than the father/creator Dr. Tenma—could ever be. In its postwar historical context, the fantasy of bringing the dead to life enacted in *Astro Boy* exists in contradiction to the grief left behind by the atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki: reanimation of the dead exists only in dreams.

Yet it was precisely this dream that propelled not only the Japanese ruling elite into the postwar future but also many of atomic power's first victims—the *hibakusha* themselves. Less than ten years after the horrific annihilation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan had purchased its first commercial reactor and had contracted to buy twenty more.[14] That the governing elite—the politicians, bureaucrats, and engineers known as the "nuclear power village"—might embrace the very technology that brought the country to its knees out of a desire for power and outright greed can be easily understood. However, as historian Ran Zwigenberg details in his account of the impact of the pronuclear propaganda campaign in Hiroshima, power and greed do not prove a satisfying explanation for the support atomic power generated among its very victims. Housed among the relics of the city's atomic bombing in the peace memorial museum, the U.S.-funded "Atoms for Peace" exhibit arrived in Hiroshima in May 1956.[15] Although support for the exhibit's aims (the promotion of atomic energy as an essential component of Japan's future) was not universal, it surprisingly won over a number of key *hibakusha* leaders and community groups. In terms that uncannily echoed Truman's announcement of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as the advancement of human technology rivaling the power of the sun, Japanese news media in the mid-1950s was filled with fantasies of futuristic technology transforming the simple atom into "another sun."[16] When confronted with the dangers of radiation, a professor from Hiroshima University responded, "it is absurd to think that an advanced nation like America would knowingly bring unprotected fissionable material to any country."[17]

IN ITS POSTWAR HISTORICAL CONTEXT, THE FANTASY OF BRINGING THE DEAD TO LIFE ENACTED IN *ASTRO BOY* EXISTS IN CONTRADICTION TO THE GRIEF LEFT BEHIND BY THE ATOMIC BOMBS IN HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI: REANIMATION OF THE DEAD EXISTS ONLY IN DREAMS.

Given the proximity of the professor and the exhibit itself to the still-fresh wounds of Hiroshima's atomic destruction, a blind reliance on the wisdom and benevolence of the United States can only be described as the willful denial of reality. In this context, *Astro Boy*'s power to displace and repress wartime experiences and memories must be read not merely as aesthetic kitsch but, more important, as a historically relevant political act in its own right.

Although Atom is charming and cute (*kawaii*), he is also monstrous, as seen at the moment of his "birth." He may save humanity, but only in the shadow of the life and death of another boy—Tobio—who haunts the show in the form of Tenma's rage and the community's ongoing suspicion of its robot savior. Likewise, in the empty streets of the dying towns surrounding the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant, the long shadow of immense suffering experienced by those exposed to radiation in Hiroshima and Nagasaki returns to haunt every discussion of Japan's nuclear future.[18] *Astro Boy* may encourage the displacement and repression of Japan's atomic wartime experiences in utopian fantasy; however, it also preserves the sideways glance in its melancholic lament for Tobio. If we choose to linger over this lateral opening with a critical eye, we see all the lost Tobios in the atomic sun's long shadow.

Notes

1. *Astro Boy,* dir. Osamu Tezuka (1963).

2. For an in-depth account of *Astro Boy*'s history see Frederik L. Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, Manga/Anime Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif.: Stone Bridge Press, 2007).

3. *Astro Boy,* dir. Noburo Ishiguro (1980).

4. *Astro Boy,* dir. Kazuya Konaka (2003).

5. In order to emphasize the connection between the anime television series and the atomic age, this essay employs a literal translation of the main character's Japanese name, *Atomu,* which means "Atom." However, when referring to the series as a whole, I will use the English translation *Astro Boy.*

6. Daisuke Miyao, "Before Anime: Animation and the Pure Film Movement in Prewar Japan," *Japan Forum* 14, no. 2 (2002): 192.

7. Robert Jungk, *Brighter Than a Thousand Suns: A Personal History of the Atomic Scientists* (Ft. Washington, Penn.: Harvest Books, 1970). In his examination of the days and weeks immediately following the bombing, cultural historian Paul Boyer includes the following commentary by Edward R. Murrow, then affiliated with CBS radio broadcasting: "Seldom, if ever, has a war ended leaving the victors with such a sense of uncertainty and fear, with such a realization that the future is obscure and that survival is not assured." Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York: Pantheon, 1985).

8. Hida Shintarō, "The Day Hiroshima Disappeared," in *Hiroshima's Shadow: Writings on the Denial of History and the Smithsonian Controversy Series,* ed. Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz (Stony Creek, Conn.: Pamphleteer's Press, 1998).

9. According to Boyer (*By the Bomb's Early Light,* 7), Murrow's colleague at NBC, H. V. Kaltenborn encouraged his listeners to "'think of the mass murder which will come with WWIII.' Adding a few days later, 'We are like *children* playing with a concentrated instrument of death whose destructive potential our little minds cannot grasp'" (emphasis added).

10. Fredric Jameson, "Progress versus Utopia: or, Can We Imagine the Future?" *Science Fiction Studies* 9, no. 2 (1982). A similar point is made by Theodor W. Adorno: "Specifically, artworks are like picture puzzles in that what they hide—like Poe's letter—is visible and is, by being visible, hidden." Theodor W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory,* ed. Gretel Adorno and Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997): 121.

11. Cited in Yuki Tanaka and Peter Kuznick, "Japan, the Atomic Bomb, and the 'Peaceful Uses of Atomic Power,'" *The Asia-Pacific Journal,* vol. 9, 18, no. 1 (May 2, 2011). Since the nuclear meltdown at Fukushima on March 11, 2011, there has been an intensification of interest in the history of Eishenhower's "Atoms for Peace" initiative and the embrace of nuclear energy in Japan. For a discussion of Japan's turn toward nuclear energy in light of the disaster at the Fukushima Daichi plant, see Gavan McCormack, "Hubris Punished: Japan as Nuclear State," *The Asia-Pacific Journal,* vol. 9, 16, no. 3 (April 18, 2011). For a brief history of Japan's elite group of nuclear decision-makers, called the "nuclear village," see Eric Johnston, "Key Players Got Nuclear Ball Rolling," *The Japan Times Online,* July 16, 2011.

12. Ran Zwigenberg, "The Coming of a Second Sun: The 1956 Atoms for Peace Exhibit in Hiroshima and Japan's Embrace of Nuclear Power," *The Asia-Pacific Journal,* vol. 10, 6, no. 1 (Feb. 6, 2012).

13. Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays,* 21. Emphasis added.

14. Tanaka and Kuznick, "Japan, the Atomic Bomb, and the 'Peaceful Uses of Atomic Power.'"

15. Zwigenberg, "The Coming of a Second Sun."

16. Ibid.

17. Quoted in ibid.

18. Another image of the suspect nuclear hero appears: rather than the self-sacrificing robot-boy, the self-sacrificing criminal yakuza emerges as an ambivalent modern hero. See investigative reporter Suzuki Tomohiko's account, as described by Justin McCurry, "The Inside Story: Tomohiko Suzuki," in *Number 1 Shimbun* (Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan, 2012).

Wolf Head in *Phoenix*

Tezuka Osamu's daughter Rumiko, as producer of the record label *Music Robita,* once recommended to the U.K.-based techno artists System 7 that they read some of the English editions of the manga *Phoenix* (1954–88), given she felt their music perfectly matched the manga's content. After reading them, Steve and Miquette of System 7 were completely "blown away" and decided to produce some tracks and even make an entire concept album inspired by Tezuka's *Phoenix.*

"Wolf-Head" is one of the tracks in System 7's *Phoenix* album. Each track draws inspiration from the characters, episodes, and narrative setting of the *Phoenix* saga. Although it is neither the title track nor a special tune on the album, it is interesting to note that they composed and made this track after their reading of the volume *Phoenix: Sun.* In the album's liner notes, Steve and Miquette insist that the volume *Sun* is the most complex and radical among the series. For System 7, the volume's narrative focus on state power and the abuse of religion in human history enhanced their creative imagination as musicians.[1] Amino Yoshihiko's historiographical approach comes from a detailed rereading of the essay "On the Relationship between Shrine-Temple and Society in the Medieval Age" (1926), which was written during

the Fifteen-Year War. During the postwar period, due to the widespread influence of orthodox Marxism among Japanese intellectuals, the essay was banned within academia.

Nobody can deny the varied influences of Amino's historicism on Japanese anime and manga, particularly in such works as *Princess Mononoke,* in which it is quite clear that both main characters were inspired by Amino's theory of historicism. The two characters are San, a girl who was fostered by a wolf and can communicate with the natural spirits in animals, and Lady Eboshi, who uses a secret technology and has ambitions to sacrifice the Deer God, *Shishi Gami,* in order to obtain its spiritual power.[2] The inhabitants of Lady Eboshi's village, who represent a variety of groups socially-discriminated against within medieval Japan, also engage in the production of musket guns. While there was no technology for muskets in medieval Japan, the narrative setting of Lady Eboshi's village, with its assortment of social outcasts, suggests an attempt by Miyazaki to draw attention to marginal parts of actual Japanese history. Both the character San and Eboshi are closely associated with a kind of asylum or enclave within the historical space of medieval Japanese society: the divine forest and secret community.

HAVING SPENT MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS IN SERIALIZATION, THE PHOENIX MANGA HAS PRESENTED READERS WITH A RANGE OF CHARACTERS AND THEMES, BOTH FICTIONAL AND HISTORICAL, WHICH HAVE SHED MUCH LIGHT ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF MEDIEVAL JAPANESE SOCIETY.

Tezuka's *Phoenix* was his life work and is considered by readers to be one of the best Japanese manga ever published. Having spent more than thirty years in serialization, the Phoenix manga has presented readers with a range of characters and themes, both fictional and historical, which have shed much light on various aspects of medieval Japanese society. Throughout this saga, some of Tezuka's well-known characters from his other work are also featured in different contexts; this is usually referred to as Tezuka's Hollywood-like star system.

The protagonist of *Phoenix: Sun*, Harima, who is a descendant of the Baekje (*Kudara*) dynasty, gets involved in the war between the Tang Dynasty and the Shinra during the seventh century. His allied army of Japan is defeated (in what is historically known as the battle of Baekgang, or Hakusukinoe in Japanese), and he is then caught by cruel soldiers of the Tang armies, who cut off his face and skin and replace it with that of a dog. Strangely the dog skin fits seamlessly onto his face and body. A shamanistic old woman then cures his wounds. This divine mother, who is also a sorceress, accompanies him almost

until the end of the story. By the end of this episode, his peeled-off face acts as a kind of "quasi-cause" in the sense of the Stoics' philosophy, because his wound as such precedes his identity as a dog-man or wolf-head. This event of literally "losing face," and the resulting shift in identity he experiences, is determined by "an incorporeal quasi cause" that resonates with the actualization of his as-yet-unknown future and virtual itinerary.[3]

What is at stake for Harima's identity is not a relationship of "filiations" linked to his noble descent but rather "an alliance or alloy" (the reason a term from metallurgy is used here is clarified later in this essay), which deploys a specific form of conviviality as a symbiotic assemblage and "unnatural participation" in which forms of "contagions, epidemics, and the wind" become matter, no longer based on a heritage and offspring.[4]

During his flight from the Tang army, Harima accidently saves the life of a Japanese general (*Abe no Hirafu*) injured by traitorous soldiers within his allied army and even brings him back to Japan safely from the Korean peninsula, despite the old woman's complaints. As a reward for their help and contribution, General Abe promises Harima a position in the Yamato (*Oumi*) imperial court. In Japan, the protagonist is given several names: *Kuchi-Inu, Inugami no Sukune,* etc., because of his uncanny dog/wolf face.

Eventually Harima gets involved in imperial politics and gets entangled in the power struggles plaguing the central Yamato court. There are two main factions within the Yamato imperial court: one is represented by Emperor Tenchi himself (who rose to power through the Taika restoration) and people who wish to introduce Buddhism as the national religion and sweep away all indigenous spirits and gods, which are usually associated with animism or shamanism. Another is dependent on the younger brother of the emperor, the Prince Oama (later called the Emperor Tenmu in both this story and real history), who is more sympathetic with native deities found within nature. The battle resulting from this collision, also known historically as Jinshin no Ran, is envisioned in this piece as a spiritual civil war between local faith and foreign religion.

In this story, through his dreams, he constantly experiences flashbacks of his own future life. Conversely Suguru, as the re/incarnation of Harima/Inugami in his dream, constantly undergoes all experiences the latter faced during the ancient period.

At the time that his ship wrecks on Japan's shores, the protagonist and the old divine woman encounter a strange pack of wolves, which have the capability of speaking and becoming human. From a contemporary perspective, this community of shape-shifting wolves resembles a native tribe or a

group of traveling nomads from some "primitive" society. The chief of the wolf pack, Rubetsu, asks them to heal his daughter, who was injured by militant guardians of Buddhist deities. In order to hide their own spiritual enclaves, this wolf pack also uses a tremendous psychic power by which they change their surrounding environment by creating a thick mist. This power allows them to keep peaceful and harmonious relationships with human societies. In contrast to the wolf pack spirit clans, Buddhist guardians from China are provided with more violent psychic forces to destroy the living space of the natural environment.[5] Because of the religious policy of the Yamato court, this spirit tribe is treated as a dissident population that has close ties with native animistic deities.

What is intriguing about the members of the sprit clan, first and foremost, is their appearance. The design of their clothes almost looks like traditional Ainu clothing, especially in the case of Nobiru, the elder brother of Marimo.[6] Generally no historical evidence has been shown that Ainu populations lived in the western area of Japan during the seventh century. The affinity with tribal gear and the cultural objects of Ainu ethnicity suggests to us a putative presence of marginal and nomadic peoples in Japanese history. Amino's historiography has taken account of the Ainu people as the sacred (in)human agency (*Kamui*). While the sprit clan is depicted as a kind of minority and indigenous tribe, the characters of Yamato court are active in imposing a system of empire, national religion, and aristocratic rule.

Most members of the spirit clan in this volume have big ears with human shapes, which certainly remind us of some *moe* characters in the contemporary otaku subculture. What is interesting is that the year of *Phoenix: Sun's* publication, 1986, was some time before the real flourishing of *moe* culture. But the animation version made by NHK obviously stressed *moe* aspects in the spirit tribe, especially with the character Marimo. Although the original version had nothing to do with *moe* culture, Tezuka's figuration and imagination in many ways foreshadowed its essence. Tezuka's use of *moe-like* objects for creation of the spirit tribe's design and technologies (cat-like or dog-like ears for example) also recalls the idea of "partial objects" in psychoanalysis, and may have been deliberately used by the author to coincide with a growing subculture of Otaku fetishism.

The figuration and design of such characters suggests the potential of weaving together specific types of narratives and other serializations of characters. Even the intimate communication between the brother and sister of the spirit clan, Nobiru and Marimo, suggests brother–sister *moe* affection because of their animal-shaped ears.[7]

The same holds true for the relationship between narratives of history and the personalities of specific population groups within historical events. The existence and actions of people as anonymous characters—or actors—in history have not necessarily been determined or sanctioned by the ruling ideology. One can make history without knowing what one is doing, as Marx contended. Characters in anime and manga also are not only able to contribute to the production of narrative types from each position within his-story and her-story, but are also able to create "an environment" or "world-view or world-setting" (*Sekaikan*, *Sekaisettei*) in which those characters undertake their specific roles. In Tezuka's case, the series of (re)incarnated characters is realized by his Hollywood-like star system in which well-known characters such as Lock, Higeoyaji, and Saruta (who also plays as the leader of "Shadow," guerilla dissidents against the Church of the Light, in *Phoenix: Sun*), are provided with different personalities in each story. Unlike conventional works of manga, Tezuka's works contain characters who can produce narratives as "the environmentalization" of themselves within their own imaginary landscape.[8]

When the wolves of the spiritual tribe mutate into human shape in front of the protagonist, their heavy fog creates an atmosphere in which the surroundings recede into a vague and uncanny state.[9] Through this transfigurative alternation between wolf and human, they can keep a stable relationship and peaceful communication with the human world. But from the eyes of humans, the procedure of transmutation and becoming is always obscured.[10] The becoming of their transmutation also means shifting their surrounding landscape, in the sense that they can change their milieu as part of their transformation, which becomes an auto-objectification or, putting it differently, creates an environment as they create themselves. The spirit tribe expresses a singular rhythm by dancing in order to proclaim their spiritual territory, to the extent that their spiritual territorialization affects and constitutes milieus and rhythms so as to create a vital environment proper to them.[11] A territory is generated from, and a part of, milieus as moving relentlessly in between.

Jean Genet's well-known metaphor of "between wolf and dog," which he uses in his last work *Prisoner of Love*, must be invoked here: "every being becomes his own shadow, and thus something other than himself. The hour of metamorphoses, when people half hope, half fear that a dog will become a wolf."[12] The mutation of the protagonist, including the character of his future incarnation, Suguru, succinctly presents us with the very example of a conjunction between his "rhythmic face" and the spirit clan's "melodic landscape."[13] It implies a zone of indiscernibility and imperceptibility passing in a transitional and liminal process of physical and semiotic articulation, in which

a fixed location, form, and identity of things in the world are deterritorialized, destabilized, and transmutated.

Although *Phoenix: Sun* takes place when the imperial court had established control over whole areas of Japan using Tang bureaucratic institutions, the details of this story also resemble the events following the Kenmu Restoration of Emperor Go-Daigo, where Japan was divided into a Northern and Southern court. Amino Yoshihiko, who engaged with both the restoration and subsequent civil war in his work, was a pioneering historian of this period. In other words, there is a kind of confusion in the narrative plot between historical situations of ancient and medieval imperial politics of Japan. After the spiritual civil war, when the Prince Oama chose the sun as the symbol of Japan, the notion of a symbolic emperor system in the postwar period seems to have been subtly smuggled into the narrative setting of *Phoenix: Sun*. Amino also traced the idea of a "heavenly son" back to a genealogy of sun worship in the Japanese archipelago.[14] Related to this point is one impressive scene in *Phoenix: Sun* where the protagonist and the Prince Oama encounter a strange stone circle in a pre-historical site that symbolizes the sun.[15] Later even Phoenix herself appears to tell him the meaning of sun worship, and the Prince Oama decides to name his territory *Japan*, a land of the rising sun, or *Nippon*, inspired by the stone icon.

ALTHOUGH *PHOENIX: SUN* TAKES PLACE WHEN THE IMPERIAL COURT HAD ESTABLISHED CONTROL OVER WHOLE AREAS OF JAPAN USING TANG BUREAUCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, THE DETAILS OF THIS STORY ALSO RESEMBLE THE EVENTS FOLLOWING THE KENMU RESTORATION OF EMPEROR GO-DAIGO, WHERE JAPAN WAS DIVIDED INTO A NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN COURT.

In order to understand the notion of a magical or cosmic king, it is necessary to address at least two notions of the double articulation of the body politic within a monarchical system. First, *The King's Two Bodies* (1957) by Ernst Kantrowicz provides an insightful view on medieval political theology by looking at the relationship between the King's natural mortal body and his immortal political body. A careful reader also can discern an uncanny conjunction between incorporeal transcendent theological moments and legal political secular moments within an embodiment of community. The Japanese emperor system can also be envisioned from this angle, both in terms of its historical actuality and the intertextual connections in Tezuka's subtle imagination.

Second, it is helpful to address the mythological distinction raised by George Demézil, who insisted that political sovereignty had two heads, which

Deleuze and Guattari expanded upon by raising a series of dichotomic couples in order to posit their conception of war machine: Varuna and Mitra, Romulus and Numa, or to put it in simpler terms, the despot and the legislator: the status of the magic emperor and binder-gods. Each of these of dichotomic couples are examined by Deleuze and Guattari.

Amino was very aware that the Japanese emperor system also incorporated this kind of dual agency of political power and magical authority in its structure. Also for readers of *Phoenix: Sun* who are familiar with the Kenmu restoration is the recognition of how Emperor Godaigo had so cunningly appropriated the magical or spiritual formation of sovereignty, which was divided and articulated with military power and guerilla forces in a way reminiscent of Deleuze's idea of the war machine (or evil bandits, *Akutō,* as Amino called it).

But why is a magical moment required as part of these dichotomies? For Amino, it was his interest in the politico-religious entanglement between the conceptual polarities of both the sacred and the polluted (*Kegare*). Not merely celebrating spiritual value, Amino maintained a critical gaze on the politico-ethical-religious horizon of historiography, especially with regard to the issue of discrimination and emancipation during both the medieval and contemporary periods.

As chief of the spirit tribe, Rubetsu explains to the protagonist how they have been able to survive in history. His explanation evokes the mise-en-scène described above. The spirit clan has afforded humans the variety of presentiment and anticipation of state power that has been conjured up but also waiting for the presence of another world within the secular order.[16] All spiritual names of native deities, the chief contends, are summoned up by human agency, while humans also dedicate their initial offerings of their planting at the harvest season once a year.[17] There is thus a symbolic exchange and gift economy between humans and the spirit tribe taking place here.

When Amino argues about Nie as "offerings of the year's first produce," certain marginalized classes living on beaches, riverbeds, foothills are taken into account.[18] By addressing various historical documents written by "imperial purveyors" (*Kugonin*), Amino defines the performance of these marginalized peoples as a form of agency through their mediation of different layers of politico-magical communication between gods and humans, or the emperor and his subjects. Another point that should not be forgotten is the term *Nie,* which contains the same semantic part with *Ikenie,* is a term related to the sacrifice of animals or plants devoted to the gods. This term also takes on greater relevance when we consider the fact that the marginalized

communities Amino discusses in his work are said to have engaged in purification rites (Kiyome) involving the slaughter of animals and contact with other "contaminated" objects. Most of the violence, the massacre, and victimization (abandonment) of life in *Phoenix: Sun* must be seen from this perspective.

All sacred and potentially sacrificial economies invoke a specific type of space. Amino calls it the space of "disconnectedness." In 1978, Amino published his masterpiece, entitled *The Non-filiation, Alternative Public Sphere, and Festive Zone* (*Muen, Kugai, Raku or "Disconnectedness, Public Space, and Markets"*). In it, he raised the principle of nonaffiliation (*Mu-en no Genri*) as a concept to explain the structure and history of medieval Japanese society from the view of marginal and liminal space. In the English edition of *Rethinking Japanese History, Muen* is translated into "disengagement" or "disconnectedness." Certainly this translation is accurate, but the term also carries a meaning opposed to political engagement. *Muen* does not simply imply a mere dissociation or detachment from an active agency but contains the alternative layers of social interaction. In this sense, *Muen* must retain the nuance of exodus from a given society.

These zones were distinguished from the conventional social space. They are closer to asylums, marginal or liminal spaces, a zone of refuge or a sacred site as conceptualized by disciplines such as sociology, folklore, and anthropology. There was neither regulation by the dominant political powers nor interference by the usual policing or any tax duty, according to Amino's description and interpretation of these spaces. These are located beyond the notion of the right of ownership over things, lands, labor force, and other resources and technologies in the modern sense. These spaces were also known as the "zone of no-ownership," because they were also marginal sacred sites of contact between the natural world of gods or spirit and the secular and social political world of human. They were enacted by the gift or total alienation of special goods and technologies for the transcendent sacred or sovereignty (sovereign power in Bataille's sense). Paradoxically, such asylums, as "Temporary Autonomous Zones" (Hakim Bey) illustrate the primary condition for the formation of the capitalistic system, a hypothesis that Amino formed through personal dialogues with his nephew, Nakazawa Shinichi, who was a postmodern Tibetan Buddhist influenced by Deleuze and Guattari. For Deleuze and Guattari, such a temporary autonomous zone accelerates to drive a flow of desire that culminates in setting up capital as the controlled and regulated mode of living labor, or what the humanities called Dionysus or beastly moments within a human agency.

How it is possible to explain the specification and articulation of these territories and sites? The triad classification of sites as "nonaffiliated," "marginal (alternative) public spheres," and "festive markets" were populated by people from victimized or discriminated communities, as Amino had persuasively shown. Hence those spaces were populated with the marginalized professionals with varied skills, such as dancers, artisans, artists, architects, technicians, painters, prostitutes, puppet masters, fishermen, butchers, partisan, pirates, quasi-nomads, shamans, and magicians—all kinds of discriminated and marginalized multitudes—who nevertheless kept specific ties with the authority of the emperor, with its magical agency and sovereignty in the medieval period (twelfth to fifteenth centuries), because of the donation and contribution of their special skills and rare goods or resources. After the thirteenth century, those multitudes had been named the "marginal comrades on the streets" (*Michi Michi no Tomogara*). They had been living in alternative or marginal parts of real history, which could activate the will to invent history as it became narrated and constructed. Put simply, Amino could reach an unforeseen horizon of Japanese history precisely because he paid attention to specific types of "characters," which can transfigure, transform, and subvert a deterministic relationship between character and narrative, or humanity and history.

As a similar type of character or "conceptual persona," it is possible to raise the figure of the "nomad" as elaborated by Deleuze and Guattari in comparison with Amino's notion of evil bandits (*Akutō*) and "comrades of the street" in Amino's historiography. Actually Nakazawa Shinichi had attempted a similar comparison in the middle of the 1980s with his essay "Paganistic Monotheism" found in his *Bandit Thought* (1988, *Akutō teki Shikō*).

The state always tends to make spaces striated. Put differently, state power tends to impose codes on space and lands. In this process a distinction between the sedentary resident and the nomad is posited and emerges, which in some cases gradually turns into a kind of discrimination and repression. "One of the principal affairs of the state" is "to conquer both a band vagabondage and body nomadism."[19] Obviously in *Phoenix: Sun,* the spirit clan can be seen as the group of nomads, and the Yamato court as the state apparatus with its politico-spiritual involvement with Buddhism.

Buddhist guardians, as a part of the state apparatus, impose their codification and striatization on the natural spiritual world and the Yamato population by using their brutal and violent power. The spirit tribe as nomads, in turn, would live in "smooth space" to escape captivity by state power and the grid of "striated space." As Deleuze and Guattari write, "The nomad exists

only in becoming, and in interaction."[20] The nomads of the spirit clan in this story are always living in the middle passage, somewhere within the Japanese archipelago, which creates a line of flight from the state apparatus and its religion by passing through an absolute speed of nomadic thought and guerrilla technology. They assume themselves as "itinerant" and "ambulant" characters, a stance that is an operative component in the pursuit of flow in "a vectorial field" in which singularities emerge and are disseminated as a contingency.[21]

In this sense, the spirit tribe is also akin to the discriminated people with professional skills Amino discussed in his historiography. Conversely Amino's figuration of "character" in medieval Japan can be combined with the concept of nomad elaborated by Deleuze and Guattari.

For Deleuze and Guattari, metallurgy is the most important model of a nomad science, not only as a producer of weapons in a military assemblage but also as a catalyst of flexible and elastic flow of "info-material assemblage." Certainly blacksmiths in Amino's historiography are described as professional castes and marginalized nomads who cooperated with particular emperors in each era. Of course, the sprit clan in *Phoenix: Sun* is neither made up of blacksmiths nor specialists of metallurgy, but insofar as they can materialize "the consciousness or thought of the matter-flow"[22] by its conductive capacity of coordinating machinic phylum and affecting surrounding landscapes, they are "ambulant, itinerant."[23]

In the same vein, the position of female characters can be grasped. Amino counted the nun also as one of the marginalized professions by quoting Frois's report on Japan, that a "Buddhist nunnery is practically a brothel"—although the latter's remark was filled with Christian bias. When Marimo turns into the princess to seduce the protagonist, the vampire-like contagion as "unnatural participation" takes place, where both humans and animals enter into an uncanny relationship and conviviality relying on distribution or circulation of affects.[24] Members of the spirit clan can become animals, even tools or (nomadic) machines and milieus pass through enabling involution into different forms, yet neither as mere devolution or regression. A series of strange couplings of characters is proliferated infinitely in this story. The character is invited and invoked from other volumes of the series, as precisely what I have called the "serialization of character" and its involvement with creating one's own environment, in which a character itself undertakes its own role and position.

Then, as individuals with special professions, some special servants of Shinto gods have been treated as consecrated, distinguished, and ostracized from the community of ordinary people. They were discriminated, excluded,

and marginalized but also provided with some privileges for their life as pagan Shinto shamans. Some shrine servants for example were called Dog-god-messenger, *Inu-jinin*. These individuals acted as guardians of spiritual sites such as shrines and temples in the medieval age. In Japanese history, wolves have frequently been considered messengers of the gods of nature. The Chinese characters, *Ohkami*, or Great God, also phonetically overlaps with the word of wolf 狼. Thus, it is known that the figure of the wolf as inhuman was also combined with the phenomena of trance or possession by gods or animistic spirits. This so-called state of trance or possession by wolf (*Ohkami Tsuki*) could sometimes be engaged through plants such as a Stramonium or other Asian variants of the mandrake.

It is suggestive that in the future prison, dissident guerillas and criminals must always cover their faces with a dog/wolf's mask in order to accept the electromagnetic wave by control of "the Church of Light" for brainwashing. As terrorist, the protagonist-double Suguru is also caught in the camp with a metallic, dog-shaped mask. Here the dog/wolf's figure seems to be summoned up for the emancipative politics and utopian desire at first sight. However, it would be overhasty to be satisfied with positing a division between human and inhuman, smooth space and striated space, war machine and state apparatus by ascribing an emancipative vision to the former while negating or disavowing the lingering effect of the latter—just because the mere dichotomy of the "smooth/striated" binary addresses "more difficult complications, alternations, and superpositions."[25]

Both spaces are constantly interchangeable, translatable, and reverse each other in the process of mixing. "Religion is . . . a piece in the State apparatus . . . even if it has within itself the power to elevate this model to the level of the universal or to constitute an absolute *Imperium*."[26] Nevertheless readers of *Phoenix: Sun* cannot be content with opting merely for a position of nomadic minority as an agency of war machine to be liberated from religion or against religion as a function of the state apparatus.

Both leaders of the guerrilla dissidents in the ancient period (Oama against the Imperial court), as well as in the future (Shadow against the Church of Light) after all invoke or reproduce the new religion for the sustainable construction of their community and power. One should not forget an insightful instruction posited by Deleuze and Guattari: to ward off is also to anticipate the presence of state.[27]

This entanglement of politics and religion invokes the figure of dog/wolf as a disjunctive point for different vectors of space, technology, and community. The figure of dog/wolf is not so much operative of a correspondence or

participation between nature and human society but is more concerned with "an unnatural participation" in which the dog purveyor with its inhuman position engages with the magical character of commerce, festival, and ritualistic conflicts. In other words, this is not about revolution but about involution.

The transfiguration and alteration into a werewolf fits seamlessly into "the state of emergency or exception" as articulated by Walter Benjamin and Giorgio Agamben, a threshold moment in which the community gridded by striated space can be dissolved temporally, while humans turn into a twilight zone in which they can no longer be distinguished from animals. The history as narrative posits the inevitability of constituting the zone of indiscernibility and imperceptibility between animals and humans as a similar moment between dog and wolf, a moment that is analogical to the uncanny equality between the state of exception (emergency) and the rule or normality.

In this conceptual line, it also should be remarked that, insofar as dogs are originally hybridized and domesticated, they are already are sort of cyborg or hybrid being, so that they have been domesticated by, and held in symbiosis with, the human species. Therefore carnival masks, dog/wolf, and prosthetics (or metal armored suits) in Japanese anime and manga genres are integrative moments for their styles and even for the condition of human characters as such.

A coupling unity of dog (companion species) and man (master) demonstrates the moment in which man began to become (being closed to becoming, at least) animals, while the dog approaches a humanized world. This symbiotic and companion relationship (Haraway) could constitute the condition of the cyborg cypher, just as a symbiotic coupling between wasps and orchids can be considered to be a machine, as conceived by Deleuze and Guattari. Being animal or, more precisely, "becoming animal" means forming the pack, not merely constituting crowds as a set of ensemble, but as a group of assemblage, which is transformed by an interactive cooperation and contagion of their varied desires, as Deleuze and Guattari succinctly pointed out in their works.

The figure of dog often plays a game of graphic repetitive alteration between revealing and concealing, nature and society, normality and emergency, etc. The protagonist Inugami as dog-man also repeats his experience in both the ancient and contemporary periods, just as a dog plays fetch with his master (in this case, the game of fetch is being played between the protagonist himself and Phoenix). This repetition reminds us of the famous game of Fort/Da performed by Freud's grandson and described in his *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920). The child invented a game in which he repeatedly threw a spool with a long string, when his mother left him. The child is said to have

shouted "Fort!" while the spool disappeared around the corner of the room and pronounced "Da!" as the spool was retrieved by string. Freud locates it in the course of mental development of children, while Lacan explained it as the platform for kids entering linguistic and semiotic process within their growth. The child could (un)learn to accommodate a painful, joyful, and playful vitality of retrieving, in which becoming human overlaps partially with becoming animal. Rather, the compensation and redemption, in this essay, is to be interpreted as a specific moment of gift economy because of its gesture of abandoning and reclaiming the life of characters.

The characters of the manga also engage with retrieving as eternal recursion. At the end of the story, the protagonist, Harima/Suguru/Inugami, and the heroine, Marimo, by becoming wolf/dog, leave the purgatorial secular world toward another dimension of reality, which is perhaps a kind of sacred realm, an act that accomplishes a utopian wish but actually retains no guarantee of overcoming this profane, tragic, and violent situation. Their final exodus or flight from reality does not imply a safer reincarnation of their life but instead suggests the virtual serialization of each identity in different narratives.

At first sight, the methodology I adopted in this essay might look like a narrative analysis, but it instead potentially undertakes a character-based interpretation, in which the incarnation of characters is less significant than the reincarnation of characters, that is, an adoption of the same character in completely different narrative sets. Thus a similar type of character can always be created and depicted in an infinite serialization. Here even visually *moe*-oriented characters pass through hard or tragic experiences. A character does not achieve agency that is determined by and demanded from the order of an instance of narrative (and ideology) but rather is extended, proliferated, and multiplied in the serialization and permutation of identities in varied forms of storytelling, as the case of the wolf/dog figuration in Tezuka's works demonstrates. In other words, characters also provides a capacity of creating narratives different from the conventional type of narrative analysis that otaku studies contends.

Notes

1. In order to analyze the story of *Phoenix: Sun,* this essay adopts two different yet related theoretical frameworks, one that draws from the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari and another that comes from the influential historian of medieval Japanese society, Amino Yoshihiko. Amino started his career as a Marxist historian in the 1950s and then slowly

changed his position by adopting a social history paradigm, which methodologically borrowed from other disciplines like cultural anthropology, ethnography, folklore, mythology, and social philosophy. It is not an exaggeration to affirm some overlaps between his political conversion and the theoretical turn in the humanities during this period.

2. For the notion of quasi-cause, see Gilles Deleuze, *The Logic of Sense,* ed. Constantin V. Boundas, trans. Mark Lester and Charles J. Stivale (New York: Continuum, 2004). See especially the chapter "Twentieth Series on the Moral Problem in Stoic Philosophy."

3. Ibid., 164.

4. Gilles Deleuze and Claire Parnet, *Dialogues II,* trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (New York: Continuum, 2002), 52.

5. Osamu Tezuka, *Phoenix: Sun,* Part I (San Francisco: Viz Media. 2003), 144–55.

6. Ibid., 132.

7. Ibid., 138.

8. The idea of (re)incarnation or the environmentalization of characters I use here stems from Marc Steinberg's brilliant book *Anime's Media Mix: Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 85, 168, and 195, and also informal discussions between us, although we disagree on the point of accounting the division and relation between character and narrative.

9. Tezuka, *Phoenix: Sun,* 93–94.

10. Perhaps it is also adequate here to address anime piece *Wolf's Rain* as another example of an in-visibility of transformation of characters.

11. Tezuka, *Phoenix: Sun,* 158.

12. Edmond Amran El Maleh, *Jean Genet, Un captif amoureux* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1988), 362.

13. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus,* trans. Brian Massumi (New York: Continuum, 2003), 318.

14. Amino Yoshihiko, *Rethinking Japanese History,* trans. Alan S. Christy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 251.

15. Tezuka, *Phoenix: Sun,* 241.

16. Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus,* 429.

17. Tezuka, *Phoenix: Sun,* 125.

18. Amino, *Rethinking Japanese History,* 253

19. Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus,* 368.

20. Ibid., 430.

21. Ibid., 372.

22. Ibid., 411.

23. Ibid., 413.

24. Amino, *Rethinking Japanese History,* 218.

25. Tezuka, *Phoenix: Sun,* 160.

26. Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus,* 383.

27. Ibid., 431.

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Often called the "God of Manga," **TEZUKA OSAMU** (1928–1989) was Japan's most prolific and popular twentieth-century manga and anime creator. He received a degree in medicine from Osaka University after World War II, but he turned away from the medical profession to break new ground as a career manga artist instead. His first production company was formed in 1961 under the name Mushi Productions; he later started Tezuka Productions. After great success with manga, he made his TV anime debut with *Tetsuwan Atomu* (known as *Astro Boy* in English) in 1963. In April 1994, the Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum was opened in his hometown of Takarazuka. With his works read internationally as well as domestically today, Tezuka has become a legend. The Tezuka Award and Tezuka Osamu Cultural Prize are awarded to distinguished and promising manga artists.

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